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THE
BRITISH PLUTARCH

CONTAINING

THE LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT

DIVINES,
PATRIOTS,
STATESMEN,
WARRIORS,

PHILOSOPHERS,
POETS,
AND
ARTISTS,

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

FROM

THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE PRESENT TIME

A New Edition,

RE-ARRANGED, AND ENRICHED WITH SEVERAL

ADDITIONAL LIVES,

BY THE

REV. FRANCIS WRANGHAM, M.A. F.R.S.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

Triumph, my Britain! Thou hast *those* to show
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe. (JONSON.)

—Τίς ξυνησεται;

(Æsch. 'Επ'. επι 'Θηρ'. 431.)

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THE
BRITISH PLUTARCH.

SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH,
EARL OF STRAFFORD.*

[1593—1641.]



THOMAS WENTWORTH was the eldest son of Sir William Wentworth, Baronet,† and of Anne daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Atkins, of Stowell in the county of Gloucester. Knight. He was born in London, April 13, 1593; and received his academical education at St. John's College, Cambridge, where by his great application he made considerable progress in learning. On quitting the University, to which however he continued friendly through life,‡ he travelled abroad for farther accom-

* **AUTHORITIES.** Guthrie's *History of England*, *Parliamentary Debates*, and Macdiarmid's *Lives of British Statesmen*.

† Whose manor of Wentworth, in Yorkshire, was the residence of his ancestors before the Conquest. He had twelve children.

‡ Having occasion to represent some misconduct of a church-

plishments, and spent upward of a year in France; where in the assassination of Henry IV., the disgrace of Sully, and the ascendancy of another daughter of Medicis, he had an opportunity of witnessing the dangerous revolutions of an arbitrary government. Mr. Greenwood, by whom he was attended as tutor, justly retained as long as he lived his pupil's confidence and regard. Upon his return, he received from his needy* Sovereign the degree of knighthood. About the same time, he married Margaret Clifford, daughter of the Earl of Cumberland.

In 1614, by his father's death, he succeeded to his title and estate of 6000*l. per ann.* His time (says Macdiarmid) was now occupied with those pleasures and cares, which naturally attend a country gentleman of distinction: and was successively devoted to the duties of hospitality, the improvement of his property, the guardianship of the younger branches of his family, his favourite diversion of hawking, his books, and his correspondents. The death of his brother-in-law Sir George Savile, who left him guardian to his two sons, brought a large increase to his avocations, and drew forth some amiable traits of his character. Actuated by the remembrance of his friendship with their father, he watched over their education and their fortunes with a solicitude, which

dignitary, who had been bred at Oxford, he could not help adding, that 'such a divine was never educated at Cambridge.'

* The purchase-money of an Earl's patent, in this disgraceful reign, was twenty, of a Viscount's fifteen, and of a Baron's ten thousand pounds; while a Baronetcy, an order of hereditary knighthood instituted to tempt the vanity of less wealthy purchasers, could be had for one thousand and ninety five pounds.

is rarely produced by the ties either of kindred or humanity. So zealously did he prosecute a law-suit, in which their estates had become involved, that during its long continuance of eight years he made thirty journeys to London on this account, and neglected not to attend the courts every term in which it came to be heard.

In 1615, he was reluctantly nominated by the turbulent Sir John Savile to succeed him, as *Custos Rotulorum* for the West-Riding of Yorkshire. Not long afterwards however, meditating a restoration to this honourable office, Savile influenced the Duke of Buckingham, who then governed the royal councils, to request that 'Wentworth would return the appointment into the hands of his predecessor;' but as that gentleman firmly declined compliance, the favourite in a second letter, with much seeming cordiality, assured him that 'the measure was totally abandoned; the King having only consented to dispense with his service, from the idea that he himself desired an opportunity to resign.' This incident is chiefly remarkable, as it laid the foundation of that animosity with Buckingham, which led the way to many questionable circumstances in the conduct of Strafford. The first was not of a disposition to forget even the slightest opposition to his will; and the latter was not a man to be injured with impunity.

His native county he represented in parliament several times. At the period of his first election, having secured his own return, he was so solicitous to secure Calvert (then Secretary of State) for his colleague, in opposition to his old enemy Sir John Savile, that he unhesitatingly advised him to engage

‘ his friend the Lord Chancellor ’ to take an active part upon the occasion. During the two sessions of this parliament, he conducted himself with great circumspection. He promoted indeed with considerable activity the expulsion of a member, who had ridiculed a bill for repressing the Sabbath-Sports authorised and encouraged by a royal proclamation; urged the House, to declare explicitly, that ‘ their privileges were their right and inheritance, and the direction of their proceedings subject solely to their own cognisance; ’ and spoke of their abrupt dissolution in terms of apprehension and regret. But his language toward the court was always respectful, and he employed his eloquence more frequently to moderate, than to excite, the zeal of his associates. The favour, which he found means to acquire with James, was subsequently his frequent boast. In the next parliament, likewise, he appears to have refrained from any peculiar exertions.*

* In this parliament, the Commons accepted the King’s offer to entrust the receipt and disbursement of the supplies to a Committee of their own members; a measure which, though it merely invested them with a power of seeing that the money was exclusively applied to the specific purpose for which it was raised, appears to have been regarded by both parties as an act of extraordinary indulgence. Involving however, as it did, an undesigned approximation to the expedient so essential for the prevention of jealousies and quarrels between the Sovereign and his subjects, it is strangely represented by Hume, as an “ imprudent concession, of which the consequences might have proved fatal to royal authority: ” as if it had been a part of the functions of the Committee to determine the objects, as well as the honesty, of the application of the subsidies granted ! This power is now much more completely possessed (as Macdiarmid adds) by the House of Commons, who annually receive a detailed account of the national income and expenditure.

As yet, Wentworth looked with apparent calmness on the agitations of political ambition. By one of those pestilential fevers, which from the closeness and filthiness of the streets formerly ravaged London, he had lost his wife, and suffered much in his own constitution. A tertian ague, which succeeded the fever, and which frequently recurred during the interval between the two parliaments, had obliged him to seek for health in the air and exercise of the country. It is pleasing to dwell on this interval of his eventful life, and to observe the philosophical tranquillity which pervades his letters to his friend Secretary Calvert, himself not insensible to rural pleasures: "Matters worthy your trouble (says he) these parts afford none, where our objects and thoughts are limited to looking upon a tulip, hearing a bird sing, a rivulet murmuring, or some such petty but innocent pastime, which for my part I begin to feed myself in; having, I praise God, recovered more in a day by open country-air, than in a fortnight's time in that smothering one of London. By my troth I wish you, divested of the importunity of business, here for half a dozen hours: you should taste, how free and fresh we breathe, and how *procul metu fruimur modestis opibus*; a wanting sometimes denied to persons of greater eminency in the administration of commonwealths." In another letter, he observes; "our harvest is all in, a most fine season to make fish-ponds, our plums all gone and past, peaches, quinces, and grapes almost fully ripe, &c. &c."

Yet did he not, amidst these amusements, forget or neglect the call of duty; more particularly in what related to the improvement, and the promotion, of his numerous brothers. One of them (Michael,

who was now making a campaign in Germany) he exhorts to ‘go on with the sober stayed courage of an understanding man, rather than with the rash heat of an unadvised youth;’ and warns him that he, ‘who ventures himself desperately beyond reason, will even by the wise be deemed unfit for command, since he exercises none over his own unruly and misleading passions.’

From pleasures so serene, and from duties so commendable, Wentworth was called by the incidents of a new reign to transactions of a more doubtful description. In the new parliament called on the accession of Charles I., he steadily and eloquently opposed the arbitrary measures of government.—His efforts, highly esteemed by his fellow-patriots, did not pass unnoticed by the court. Of high connections, extensive influence, and eminent talents, ~~he~~ derived from his vigour and decisiveness still ~~more~~ forcible claims to attention. His learning, ~~increased~~ and matured by the labour of many years, had ~~been~~ obtained with a method and diligence, which ~~proved~~ that even in leisure and retirement he had not wholly lost sight of more active scenes. From his earliest youth, he had studied the graces of composition: even his ordinary letters were penned with a careful regard to elegance of expression; and he had trained himself to the popular elegance of his age, by an assiduous attendance on the most celebrated orators of the pulpit, the bar, and the council. To a man thus formidable by his capacity, his acquirements, and his energy, even the haughty Buckingham did not ~~disdain~~ to make overtures of conciliation; and, ~~for a~~ time, he seemed to have gained his object. With address, and with dignity, Wentworth replied

to the Duke's request for his good offices, that 'he honoured his person, and was ready to serve him in the quality of an honest man and a gentleman.'

But these friendly appearances were of short duration. The course of public events had caused the unworthy favourite to be denounced, as 'the author of the national calamities.' To weaken the remonstrances of the Commons, he advised his royal master, in November 1625, by appointing six of their principal leaders* as Sheriffs, to preclude their immediate return to parliament. Wentworth heard, with surprise and indignation, that he was included in the number; nor could he, by any efforts, rid himself of the disqualifying honour. He would not however, by procuring (with some of his fellow-sufferers) his re-election, and then insisting upon his right of serving, bar the door of favour against himself for ever. And, in this moderate course, he was **not** only confirmed by the counsel of Lord Clare (whose beautiful and accomplished daughter, Lady Arabella Hollis, he had recently married) though that nobleman heartily wished success to the enterprise, but also in some degree perhaps justified by the disappointment of those by whom it was undertaken. The invidious and unprincipled artifice, however, while it exposed the weakness of the government, happily failed to produce the expected result. Gross abuses will call forth latent talents, and stimulate dormant exertions. Other champions arose in Wentworth's place; while he, at a distance from the public scene, was calmly and diligently executing the

* Of these, Sir Edward Coke was one; and in this station he was obliged to attend the circuits, where he had once presided.

duties of his office. Although he had undertaken them with reluctance, he expressed, in a letter to his cousin Wandesford, his resolution to discharge them with fidelity: and, in the true spirit of a philosopher, he adds; “I will withal closely and quietly attend my own private fortune, repairing and settling it with innocent hands, moderate and regulated desires, and so repose myself upon the goodness of the Almighty, that doth not only divert the scourges of an adversary, but doth even convert them into health and soundness. Can there be a fairer, or fuller revenge? *Insanos feri tumultus ridere.* Is there any state or condition so safe, more to be recommended? *Virtus—vitæ tacitos beatæ Rure secreto, sibi nota tantùm, Exigit annos.* Yet do I lament, sadly lament, the miseries of these times; being reduced to such a prostration of spirit, as we are neither able to overcome the exulcerated disease, nor to endure a sharp prevalent remedy.” Still, however, he offered up his prayers for the success of the patriots, though precluded from rendering them other assistance; for he was determined ‘never to contend with the prerogative out of a parliament.’ At this period Buckingham, alarmed at the gathering storm, vouchsafed to repeat his overtures to the excluded senator; assuring him, that ‘his nomination as Sheriff had taken place without his knowledge,’ and entreating that ‘all former mistakes might be buried in a contract of permanent friendship.’ Wentworth met his advances with more cordiality than accompanied them: for soon afterward, to his infinite surprise and indignation, he received, at a full meeting of the county over which he officially presided (with a view of aggravating the insult) his Majesty’s order to re-

sign his appointment of *Custos Rotulorum* to his old antagonist Savile. In terms of respectful submission and courteous loyalty, he endeavoured through his friend Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to interest his Sovereign in his favour upon this occasion ; but in vain.

Charles I. now ventured upon the new* and fatal experiment of commanding a general contribution, under the less invidious name of a ‘ Loan,’ to be levied throughout the kingdom : and Commissioners

* The following extract from Archbishop Abbot’s ‘ Narrative’ strongly represents the general sentiments at that period: “ For the matter of the Loan, I knew not a long time what to make of it. I saw, on the one side, the King’s necessity for money, and especially it being resolved that the war should be pursued ; and on the other side I could not forget, that in the parliament great sums were offered, if the petitions of the Commons might be hearkened unto. It ran still in my mind, that the old and usual way was best : that in kingdoms the harmony was sweetest, where the prince and the people tuned well together. It ran in my mind, that this new device for money could not long hold out ; that then we must return into the highway, whither it were best to retire ourselves betimes, the shortest errors being the best. At the opening of the commission for the Loan, I was sent for from Croydon. It seemed to me a strange thing ; but I was told that, ‘ howsoever it showed, the King would have it so, there was no speaking against it.’ I have not heard, that men throughout the kingdom should lend money against their will ; I knew not what to make of it. But when I saw the instructions, that ‘ the refusers should be sent away for soldiers to the King of Denmark,’ I began to remember Urias, that was set in the fore-front of the battle ; and, to speak truth, I durst not be tender in it. And when afterward I saw that men were to be put to their oath, with whom they had conference, and whether any did dissuade them, and yet farther beheld that divers were to be imprisoned ; I thought this was somewhat a new world.” (Rushworth, I. 455.)

sworn to secrecy were instructed in the art of mingling menaces with persuasion. Still the measure experienced great resistance among all conditions: and Wentworth was impelled, if not by patriotism and generosity, by feelings of resentment and of ambition (contrary to the hopes, and expostulations, of his nearest friends) to rank himself among its most strenuous opposers. He was in consequence, in May 1627, first thrown into prison; and subsequently, as a mitigated punishment, sent to Dartford in Kent, with a prohibition to go above two miles from the town.

The unjustifiable quarrel however of Buckingham with France, and his disgraceful and disastrous prosecution of it, speedily led to a liberation from this qualified restraint. By the advice of Sir Robert Cotton, as Privy Councillor, writs were issued for a new parliament. Archbishop Abbot, Bishop Williams, the Earl of Bristol, and others were summoned to resume their seats; and the gentlemen who had been most steady in refusing the general Loan, released from their various places of confinement, were immediately returned by the grateful people, as the champions of their liberties, to the House of Commons. Among these, Wentworth was triumphantly re-elected for the County of York. In this parliament (of 1628) he farther signalled himself as a patriot, upon occasion of the inquiry made by the Commons into the grievances of the nation. Those grievances were the billeting of soldiers by the Lieutenants and their deputies, Loans by benevolences and privy seals, imprisonment of persons refusing to lend the King money, and denial

of release upon a *Habeas Corpus*. Those abuses, however (he observed) were to be imputed, not to the Sovereign, but to his ministers, who had extended the prerogative beyond the just symmetry, which maketh a sweet harmony of the whole. "They have brought the crown into greater want than ever," said he, "by anticipating the revenues. They have introduced a Privy Council, ravishing at once the spheres of all ancient government, destroying all liberty, imprisoning us without either bail or bond. They have taken from us—what shall I say? Indeed, what have they left us? By tearing up the roots of all property, they have taken from us every means of supplying the King, and of ingratiating ourselves by voluntary proofs of our duty and attachment.

"To the making whole all these breaches I shall apply myself; and to all these diseases shall propound a remedy. By one and the same thing have the people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured. We must vindicate—what? New things? No: our ancient, legal, and vital liberties; by reinforcing the laws enacted by our ancestors, by setting such a seal upon them as no licentious spirit shall hereafter dare to infringe. And shall we fear, by this proceeding, to put an end to parliament? No: our desires are modest, and just, and equally for the interest of the king and the people. If we enjoy not these rights, it will be impossible for us to relieve him."

Though he strongly pressed upon the Commons, however, that their grants should be preceded by the redress of grievances, they unanimously (at the instance, more especially, of Mr. Pym) voted a supply of

five subsidies to his Majesty.* At the same time they determined, to the great alarm of the King, to draw up for his sanction and signature a Declaration reciting the substance of those ancient and unrepealed statutes, which expressly protected the lives, liberty, and property of the subject, under the name of a ‘Petition of Right.’† Unwilling to comply with their just wishes, he unwarily betrayed his reluctance, before the vote for the subsidies had passed into a law;

* “When informed of this unexpected liberality,” says Macdiarmid, “Charles was sensibly affected. He had accustomed himself to look upon the Commons as the inveterate enemies of his power, as a clog intended only to impede and disorder the motions of his government. Yet amidst their loudest complaints of arbitrary measures, and their most bitter invectives against his obnoxious ministers, they had uniformly spoken of himself, not only with respect and loyalty, but with affection and esteem: and, though exasperated by his menaces, they had now hastened to remove those necessities, which all his own authority had failed to relieve. When the gracious reception which he gave to this instance of their duty was reported to them, they showed a jealousy of his honour beyond all his servile courtiers; and expressed their indignation, that the thanks of the Duke of Buckingham should be coupled with the approbation of their Sovereign.”

† Yet Hume says, “It may be affirmed, without any exaggeration, that the King’s assent to the Petition of Right produced such a change in the government, as was almost equivalent to a revolution; and by circumscribing, in so many articles, the royal prerogative, gave additional security to the liberties of the subject!” It is a pity, that he has not mentioned some of the novelties, which he seems to have discovered in this Petition. If there exist any such, they certainly escaped both the Parliament and the King at the time they were introduced. The Lords and Commons professed, that ‘the Petition was merely the substance of certain ancient statutes,’ nor was this allegation ever called in question, by the Court. The statutes alluded to are either mentioned in the preamble, or cited in the margin.

and thus induced a resolution of the House, that 'grievances and supply should go hand in hand.' Unlike his predecessor Elizabeth, who had the art to concede an untenable point in most instances with apparent ease and good humour, Charles even in compliance was so ungraceful and evasive, that his concessions occasioned scarcely less discontent than his refusals. He was, at last, constrained to sanction the Petition in the usual way: the Bill of Supplies was immediately passed; and alarmed at the danger of his favourite, whom the Commons were proceeding to accuse as the author of all their ill-usage, he suddenly terminated the session by a prorogation.

As Wentworth was one of the greatest characters then in England, the Monarch was naturally anxious to win him over to his party. In this endeavour, in which he was powerfully seconded by his Lord High Treasurer Weston, he unfortunately succeeded so well, that before the end of the session the apostate patriot became one of the most strenuous supporters of that despotism, which he had in it's beginning so virtuously and so vigorously opposed.

Unhappily for his memory, his admirers, anxious to prove him more than man, have abandoned the plea which humanity affords to palliate his defects. "Sir Edward Coke," says one of his advocates,* "might have his particular disgust, Sir

* The Author of the Dedication to his Letters. Mr. Hume, a far more dexterous apologist, while he strives to leave on the minds of his readers the most favourable impression of this statesman, avoids suspicion in this instance by a partial acknowledgment of the truth. "His fidelity to the King," he remarks, "was unshaken: but as he now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he had formerly bent all his

John Elliot his warmth, Mr. Selden his prejudices to the Bishops and clergy, and others farther designs upon the constitution itself, which might cause them to carry on their opposition. But Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was a true friend to the episcopal government of the church, and to a limited monarchy in the state, could have no reason, when the Petition of Right was granted, to refuse to bear his share of toils and pains in the service of the public, or to withstand the offers of those honours:" as if that Petition had not been already violated, before these honours were yet conferred; and the very office which he accepted, with it's added and exorbitant powers, did not imply the farther violation of it. In the sequel, indeed, we shall have occasion but too often to record, and to deplore, his activity in invading those very rights, which it was formed to secure.

One of the bribes, by which this frail man was seduced, was the presidency of the Council of York, or of the North.* He was at the same time created

powers to diminish, his virtue seems not to have been entirely pure, but to have been susceptible of strong impressions from private interest and ambition."

* This Council (says Macdiarmid) was peculiarly suited to the genius of an absolute monarchy. The same forms of administering justice had prevailed in the four northern counties as in the other parts of England, till the thirty-first year of Henry VIII.; when an insurrection, attended with much bloodshed and disorder, induced that Monarch to grant a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to the Archbishop of York, with some lawyers and gentlemen of the county, for the purpose of investigating the grounds of these outrages, and bringing the malefactors to punishment according to the laws of the land. The jurisdiction of this Commission extended over the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, the

Baron Wentworth,* and soon afterward Viscount, with a seat in the Privy Council. Ashamed at first of his apostasy, he endeavoured to conceal it: at length however he requested an interview with Mr. Pym, for the purpose of justifying his conduct, when that upright commoner observed; "You have left us, but we will not leave you, while your head is on your shoulders." To complete his change beyond the hope of a restoration, he now contracted an intimate friendship with Archbishop Laud, and seconded him but too faithfully in all his measures.

Of a disposition naturally impetuous, overbearing, and vindictive, during his presidency in the north he exercised his power with great severity, and in some cases even with childish insolence: particularly in that of Henry Bellasis, the son of Lord Falcon-

bishopric of Durham, the cities of York, Kingston upon Hull, and Newcastle upon Tyne. It's good effects in restoring tranquillity caused it's duration to be prolonged; and, on the re-appearance of commotions in those quarters, it was in succeeding times frequently renewed. An abuse gradually arose out of a simple expedient. Elizabeth, and after her James, found it convenient to alter the tenor of the Commission, to increase the sphere of it's jurisdiction, and to augment it's circumscribed legal authority by certain discretionary powers. And to such an ascendancy was this court raised by the enlarged instructions granted to Wentworth, that the Council of York now engrossed the whole jurisdiction of the four northern counties, and embraced the powers of the Courts of Common Law and Chancery, and even the exorbitant authority of the Star-Chamber.

* In this patent, as a lure to his vanity, the claim which he advanced to an alliance with the blood royal through Margaret grandmother of Henry VII. was ostentatiously acknowledged, and displayed as a ground for his new honours. His friend and relation Wandesford, also, though from his violent hostility to the court employed by the Commons in framing the Articles of impeachment against Buckingham, was received into favour.

berg, who was committed to prison for not having taken off his hat to him; though he pleaded in his defence, that 'he was talking to Lord Fairfax, and that his face was turned another way.' A month's confinement, and a written acknowledgement of his contrition, procured the noble offender's release.

His next preferment was, the Lord Deputyship of Ireland; where his administration proved highly arbitrary and oppressive. For this important office he received his commission in January, 1632: but it was not till July in the following year, that he was able to reach the place of his destination. After spending a considerable time in the arrangement of his private affairs, he was still delayed some months by unfavourable winds: for strange as it may now appear, so dangerously was the Irish Channel infested by pirates, that he could not venture to pass over without the convoy of a man of war, which was obliged to go round by the Thames. Upon arriving in that kingdom, he was invested with more ample powers than had been granted to any of his predecessors. Nevertheless, he speedily solicited and obtained a farther extension of them; alleging, in vindication of his request, that 'Ireland was a conquered country.' The law he treated with contempt; and declared, that 'he would make an act of state to be of equal power with an act of parliament.' He had also in letters to the King, and in the Privy Council of England, urged his Sovereign to measures of government of the most despotic description.

His grand objects were to render the royal power completely uncontrollable in Ireland; and to derive from that island a revenue sufficient, not only to sup-

port it's own expenditure, but also to replenish the English treasury. Schemes, indeed, he had for enriching his new subjects, and plans for promoting their civilisation ; but " in all these affairs," he stated in a letter to his misguided master, " the benefit of the crown must and shall be my principal, nay, my sole end."

For this purpose, with not less sagacity than ambition he drew up, by the King's leave, a paper of Instructions for his conduct, in which he anticipated almost every imaginable difficulty, and armed himself with all but absolute power ; subjoining likewise the remarkable clause, that ' these ample regulations were to be considered as changeable on the spot, wherever the advancement of his Majesty's affairs required.'

Of the Irish Privy Council, which had been accustomed to bear a great sway in the management of the state, he summoned only a select number : these, after waiting for some hours his Lordship's leisure, he seemed to treat rather as auditors than as Councillors : and though in compliance with the wishes of Ireland, and his own views of it's indispensableness, he overcame his Sovereign's reluctance upon the subject of calling a parliament in that kingdom, he proceeded (in pursuance of his projected intrigues) with a high and resolute hand, to subdue every appearance of opposition. Successfully reminding the Council, which in conformity with the provisions of Poyning's law had assembled to deliberate on the propositions to be transmitted to his Majesty, as proper subjects for senatorial discussion, of the inseparable breach between Charles and his English parliament : " I could tell them," says he in one of his letters,

“ as one that had held his eyes as open to these proceedings as any one, that to whatever other cause this mischief might be attributed, it arose solely from the ill-grounded and narrow suspicions of the parliament, and their obstinate refusal to yield to the King that confidence, which he so justly demanded from his people.”*

The same peremptory tone, which had produced such a desirable impression upon the Council, proved equally effectual in the parliament: and Sir Robert Talbot, one of the members, having been betrayed by the ardor of debate into some unguarded reflexions on his conduct, he was instantly expelled, and committed to custody till he should on his knees implore the Lord Deputy's pardon. The Lords, indeed, made an impotent show of patriotic resistance: but he disdainfully neglected to notice their proceedings, till at the end of the session he warned them of their irregularity.

Thus triumphantly exacting implicit submission from a nation hitherto noted for its turbulence, and drawing large supplies from a parliament which now for the first time granted a subsidy; Wentworth proceeded, in reliance upon that decision which had hitherto proved so successful, to gratify his Sovereign by taking on himself and the Council the whole

* This language from one, who had so actively infused these suspicions, and who had insisted that ‘redress should ever precede supplies,’ did not escape the unlucky jeers of his new associates at court. Laud, with his usual love for a jest, writes to him that ‘when that part of his despatch, which mentioned his reprobation of the turbulent proceedings of the English Parliament, was read before the Committee of the Privy Council, Lord Cottington added, to complete the sentence, *Quorum pars magna fui.*’

blame of refusing what the Irish confidently hoped Charles, in return for their liberality, would readily grant.

These victories achieved over popular rights emboldened him to aspire to some additional reward. He solicited an earldom. But he was no longer to be gained over: Ireland had been a field, not only for his toils in behalf of regal authority, but also for the gratification of his own ambition. He had already received lavish praise: much remained still to be accomplished, for which the expected remuneration might frugally be reserved: by taking upon himself voluntarily, and with the most loyal self-renunciation, the ungracious office (repeatedly urged by the King, with more earnestness than delicacy) of denying grants on the Irish establishment, though he had accumulated on himself a load of displeasure, he had rendered his royal master ungratefully reluctant to adopt any measure, which might appear to imply an approval of his whole conduct, his imperious speeches and his harsh refusals, and thus draw upon himself a portion of the odium he was so solicitous to avoid. Charles therefore, to the dissembled chagrin of the illustrious beggar, refused his request. He even went farther, and notwithstanding Wentworth's entreaty to be permitted to continue his subservient parliament by prorogation, urged him to get rid of it by dissolution.

The obsequious Lord Deputy, not disgusted by this unkind treatment, proposed to give a new proof at once of his capacity and his devotion by undertaking to reduce the Irish to a conformity in religion. This chimerical enterprise he pursued by means far more rational, than are usually adopted

upon similar occasions. In the execution of his schemes, however, for enhancing the wealth and respectability of the establishment, he occasionally found it necessary to resume his brief and imperious mode of procedure: and with its usual efficacy he procured a speedy restoration of lands and tithes, which had been alienated by the fraud of Bishops or acquired by the rapacity of Peers, and enforced a ready obedience to the Commission issued for the repair of churches.

But whatever might be the effect of introducing the religion of England, in which Wentworth with a view to the gratification of his friend Laud assiduously laboured (though he made the proud and singular vaunt that, during his Irish government, ‘not the hair of a man’s head was touched for the free exercise of his conscience’) the introduction of the English laws was a benefit not to be disputed. By the Act of Poynings, all the English statutes to the time of Henry VII. had been established in Ireland: and, with the exception of a few inexpedient penal statutes, he now effected the admission of all those, which had been enacted subsequently to that æra; providing however, as he boasted, that ‘the ministers of justice should be contained in proper subordination to the crown.’ The amelioration of the military establishment likewise, as essential to the absolute authority now claimed by the Sovereign, engaged his particular attention.

But the instrument, by which all these advantages were to be consolidated, was an ample and permanent revenue. Upon the attaining of that, therefore, he exhausted all his talents and industry; and by a diligent superintendence of the Customs, rendering a

licence necessary for the retail of Tobacco, introducing the statutes of Wills and Uses, opening a Victualling Trade between Ireland and Spain, and establishing the Linen Manufacture, he very extensively realised his object. In others of his proceedings, he was less fortunate. His attempt to increase the royal demesnes, by the discovery of defective titles, gave rise to great discontents. By his arrogant conduct, he offended the powerful and respectable Earl of St. Alban's and Clanrickarde, Hereditary Governor of the county of Galway; and he pursued with arbitrary and unjust vindictiveness Lord Mountnorris,*

* The virulence of Wentworth's animosity against Mountnorris seems to have overpowered every feeling of humanity. Lady Mountnorris was a near relative of his beloved wife, Arabella Hollis, whose premature death had lately caused him the most bitter affliction. Trusting to the influence of this strong tie, she became an intercessor for her condemned husband, and addressed the following pathetic letter to Wentworth:

“ My Lord,

“ I beseech your Lordship, for the tender mercy of God, take off your heavy hand from my dear Lord; and for her sake, who is with God, be pleased not to make me and my poor infants miserable, as we must of necessity be by the hurt you do to him. God knows, my Lord, I am a distressed poor woman, and know not what to say more, than to beg upon my knees, with my homely prayers and tears, that it will please the Almighty to incline your Lordship's heart to mildness toward him: for if your Lordship continue my Lord in restraint, and lay disgraces upon him, I have too much cause to fear your Lordship will bring a speedy end to his life and troubles, and make me and all mine ever miserable. Good my Lord, pardon these woeful lines of a disconsolate creature; and be pleased, for Christ Jesus' sake, to take this my humble suit into your favourable consideration, and to have mercy upon me and mine; and God will, I hope, reward it into the bosom of you, and your sweet children by my kins-

Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, who upon his first accession to the government had enjoyed his friendship and confidence, to a capital sentence (dependent, for its execution, upon his caprice) for a very trifling offence. With heavy, and deserved, censures were now mingled numerous calumnies. Resolving to brave the rumours which he could not suppress, with the assumed intrepidity of conscious innocence he requested leave of the King to come over to England. His reception at court corresponded with the importance of his services. When questioned by Charles concerning the state of Irish affairs, he displayed in the explanation of his measures the same address and vigour which he had previously shown in the execution of them; and pointed out in a perspicuous speech before the King and a Select Committee, the tendency of his exertions to promote at once the interest of Ireland and the authority of his royal employer. His hearers loaded him with applause; and among all the partizans of government throughout the kingdom his reputation became unbounded.

An opportunity speedily occurred of binding his Sovereign by new testimonies of his zeal. As President

woman: and for the memory of her, I beseech your Lordship to compassionate the distressed condition of me,

“ Your Lordship’s most humble

“ and disconsolate servant,

“ JANE MOUNTNORRIS.”

This letter, which is inserted in Clarendon’s ‘ State Papers,’ I. 449, is there endorsed with these words: “ A copy of Lady Mountnorris’ letter to the Earl of Strafford, when her husband was in prison, under sentence of death by martial law; and he was so hard-hearted, as to give her no relief.”

of the Council of York, he procured the assent of all within his jurisdiction to the odious contribution of Ship-Money. Relying upon the acceptableness of this service, he now again, with the added intercession of his friend the Primate, solicited the honour which had been before withheld; not only as a gratification of his vanity, but also as a necessary safeguard to his fame and his authority. But the causes, which had previously frustrated his ambition, had recently been much strengthened. The reply of Charles, therefore, was so decisive, as to bar all hopes of compliance. This ungracious repulse, conveyed in unqualified terms, and accompanied with poignant insinuations, inflicted a deep wound on the mind of Wentworth. He returned however to Ireland, which he continued to govern upon the same system as before.

In 1631, he had lost his second wife, who in the course of the preceding six years had brought him two sons and three daughters, in child-bed of her second boy. So violent was his anguish upon this occasion, that his confidential friends, by remaining with him continually for several days and nights, were scarcely able to overcome his despair. And several years afterward when, at the request of his mother-in-law Lady Clare, he entrusted the education of his daughters to her charge, he recalled the incomparable virtues of their mother with an enthusiasm and sensibility, which proved how deeply his heart was interested.

But the tender remembrance of Arabella Hollis did not prevent the growth of another passion in the breast of Wentworth, who was still in the prime and vigour of life. In 1632, he married Elisabeth;

daughter of Sir Godfrey Rhodes, who bore her new dignities with incomparable meekness and humility; impressed with an overwhelming sense of her husband's superiority, and not even venturing to approach him with her letters.

In the earlier part of his life, he had entered freely into the social amusements usual among persons of his rank; but his short and uncertain intervals of relaxation were, now, with difficulty snatched from the pressure of public affairs. In the games of *primero* and *marso*, at which he played with uncommon skill, he indulged only during the Christmas festivities, or after supper when he found it necessary to mingle in the amusements of his company. It was in the interval between this meal and the hours devoted to sleep, that he now found his chief period of recreation. When the company proved agreeable to him, he was accustomed to retire with them to an inner room, where he would continue for some hours, smoking tobacco, and relating anecdotes with great freedom and pleasantry. Here the guests were agreeably surprised to see the Viceroy, so ceremonious and haughty amidst his official avocations, completely throw off the statesman, and engage in the amusements of a social circle with unreserved familiarity.

Temperate however, even in the most unguarded hours of hilarity; of unquestioned integrity, though not inattentive to the improvement of his private fortune, and sumptuously magnificent in the appointments of his office, he had many claims to personal respect. But his ambition involved him in exertions, which were followed by severe bodily infirmities. His gout became inveterate from neglect of exercise. Upon

his return to Ireland the aguish complaints, which in his earlier life had reduced him to a dangerous debility, made their re-appearance : and while he laboured under severe pain accompanied with an intermittent pulse, faint sweats, and depression of spirits, he began to prognosticate that ‘ no long life awaited him here below.’

These infirmities were exasperated by numerous vexations incurred in the discharge of his office. Appointments in the army conferred, contrary to usage, by the King upon the dependents of rival courtiers, grants on the Irish establishment made without his knowledge and against his express stipulation, indemnification granted to the young Earl of Clanrickarde for his losses in Galway, with other jealousies and calumnies circulated in England beyond his reach, to which he betrayed an aching sensibility, kept his mind in perpetual anguish. To these must be added, as not the least source of his disquietudes, the violence of his own passions, which involved him in a discreditable quarrel with the Irish Chancellor Loftus.

In 1637 however he was for the first time, notwithstanding his remembered hostility to Buckingham, and the proud determination of Charles, as the master spirit, to guide and inform the whole affairs of his realm, invited (beyond the pale of Irish counsels) to give his advice upon the subject of the Spanish war. His reply, which is extant among his Letters, is not more interesting from its sagacity, than for the schemes which it develops for the consolidation of an independent and absolute monarchy. It, happily, saved the nation indeed from the meditated quarrel ; but struggles, of a nearer and more domestic nature, were now rapidly approaching.

Scotland, which had lately given a King to the empire, prepared to set the example of resistance. Laud had resolved to introduce into that kingdom innovations, which had been resisted in England, and to adorn their worship with a ceremonial more conformable to the church of Rome; under the sole authority of the Sovereign, superseding the solemn statutes of the legislature by royal proclamations. The cause of religion became sacred even to the most indifferent, from it's connexion with that of civil liberty: and a Covenant to maintain their rights was, in 1638, eagerly embraced throughout the nation. When Charles appeared at the head of an army to enforce his mandates with the sword, he was met on the borders by a force inferior indeed to his own in pomp and splendor, but in every military respect far it's superior. A hasty pacification was the result. His Majesty's increasing difficulties now led him to request the personal attendance of Wentworth, who had not in the mean while been inattentive to the Scottish proceedings, or backward in adopting measures to repress them: but he requested, at the same time, that 'he would find some other pretext for visiting England.'

That devoted nobleman lost no time in obeying the summons. Committing his government to Wandesford, he hastened in November 1639, under pretence of opposing an appeal of the Chancellor Loftus, to the English court. In conjunction with his principal colleagues, Laud and Hamilton,* he advised war

* These three ministers, with some others occasionally admitted, were by the enemies of the court reproachfully termed the 'Junto,' and the 'Cabinet-Council.' Such was the origin of a term, now attended with peculiar distinction.

with the Scots, and as a necessary preliminary to it, that a parliament should be assembled. He farther displayed his superior zeal by subscribing 20,000*l.*, as his share of a voluntary contribution.

In reward of these services (such, fatally, they were considered) he was created Baron of Raby, and Earl of Strafford, invested with the title of Lord Lieutenant, which since the time of Essex had been withheld from the governors of Ireland; and, the following year, made Knight of the Garter. Delighted with these honours, so often implored and so tardily bestowed, he hastened back to his government; and though overtaken at Beaumaris by a severe fit of the gout, and encountered by contrary winds, he resolutely set sail. The zeal of his parliament exceeded his expectations. After a stay of fifteen days, and a most gratifying acknowledgment of the benefits derived from his sway, he set off on his return, to attend the opening of the English session. A storm which aggravated his gout, and in conjunction with his excessive fatigues superadded to it a violent flux, laid him up for several days at Chester. But, as soon as he could possibly endure the motion, he caused himself to be placed in a litter, and conveyed by slow journeys to London. There he found the parliament already met, and conducting their discussions with unexpected moderation.* They

Clarendon, I. 131, informs us, that the court was so infatuated as to do every thing to brave and affront the parliament, even after issuing the writs. "That it might not appear that the court was at all apprehensive of what the parliament would or could do; and that it ~~was~~ convened by his Majesty's grace and inclination, not by any ~~mot~~ive of necessity; it proceeded in all respects in the same unpopu~~lar~~ way it had done. Ship-Money

spoke indeed of grievances, but in terms so respectful as to avoid all offence; and when a member, less guarded than the rest, ventured to call even Ship-Money ‘an abomination,’ he narrowly escaped a severe reprehension. But these favourable presages were quickly blasted by the impatience of the court. Offended by the firmness of the Houses, in regard to the proposed substitution of twelve subsidies for that unconstitutional imposition, Charles instantly dissolved the parliament. He repented, indeed, almost immediately of his rashness, and accused Sir Henry Vane (his Treasurer of the Household, and Secretary of State) of having deceived him by the language, which he had employed: but it was then, alas! too late.

He was obliged, therefore, to have recourse to other expedients for raising money, in order to enable himself to march against the Scots; and, appointing the Earl of Northumberland (at that time indisposed) his Generalissimo, he devolved the command upon Strafford, as Lieutenant General, whose distemper still rendered it painful to him to sit on horseback. Strafford joined his troops at Durham, whither they had fled from the enemy; and after irritating them by his bitter and promiscuous animadversions, found himself compelled to abandon the northern counties to the invaders, and to retire with a disgraced and mutinous army within the walls of York.

The tide of his fortune was now rapidly ebbing. His confederate the Marquis of Hamilton disliked

was levied with the same severity; and the same rigour used in Ecclesiastical Courts, without the least compliance with the humour of any man.”

him, and he was hated by Lord Holland and Sir Harry Vane, the confidential advisers of the Queen. But his most dangerous adversary at court was the Queen herself, whose influence over her husband was daily becoming more unbounded; and whose inveterate antipathy to Buckingham, now transferred upon Laud, by a natural association included his chief supporter. Poignant were the feelings of Strafford, when he beheld the most important and hazardous measures undertaken without his privity; but with still deeper mortification he discovered that his mortal enemy, Lord Savile, was employed in carrying on private overtures with the Scots, who regarding the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (to use their own expression) as 'the chief incendiary,' refused to hold their conferences at York, because it was within his jurisdiction.

Placed however as he was, by his zeal for the royal service, amidst a host of foes, he still determined to persist (as Laud had, previously, exhorted him) in 'thorough measures.*' But he was no

* He tells Laud (Letters, II. 250.) that, 'in his opinion, the Scottish affairs were lost by too great a desire to do things quietly; and that opposition is, at first, easily quashed by vigour;' but, adds he, "so long as I do serve, I will thorough by the grace of God, follow after what shall please him to send." He seems, also, to have formed a wrong idea of the King's firmness; unless, perhaps, he thought it necessary to express his sentiments cautiously to a fellow-courtier: "Our master is an excellent horseman, and knows perfectly how to bring to obedience a hard mouth with a sharp bit, where a sweeter will not do it." In another letter to Laud, he speaks of the spirit of the age as a grievous and overspreading leprosy: "Less," he adds, "than thorough will not overcome it. There is a cancerous malignity

longer placed, with discretionary powers, at the head of a separate government. His feeble Sovereign, under the influence of those by whom he was more immediately surrounded, controlled his exertions; and so reverentially was he impressed with the magnificence of titles and dignity, that he could scarcely bring himself to approach them with familiarity, much less to dispute their authority.*

16572.

In it, which must be put forth, which long since hath rejected all other means."

"I am confident," he writes to Laud, "that the King being pleased to set himself in the business is able, by his wisdom and ministers, to carry any just and honourable action through all imaginary opposition, for real there can be none: that, to start aside for such panic fears, phantastic apparitions, as a Prynne or an Elliot shall set up, were the meanest folly in the world: that, the debts of the crown taken off, you may govern as you please: and most resolute I am that work may be done, without borrowing any help forth of the King's lodgings; and it is as downright a *peccatum ex te Israel* as ever was, if all this be not effected with speed and ease." Letters I. 173. Hampden, he thinks, might have been easily reformed by some wholesome chastisement: "Mr. Hampden is a great brother; and the very genius of that nation of people leads them always to oppose, both civilly and ecclesiastically, all that ever authority ordains for them. But in good faith, were they rightly served, they should be whipt home into their right wits; and much beholden they should be to any, that would thoroughly take pains with them in that kind." Wentworth to Laud, Letters, II. 138. Again: "In truth, I still wish Mr. Hampden, and others to his likeness, were well whipt into their senses: and, if that the rod be so used that it smarts not, I am the more sorry. Id. Ib., II. 158.

* This trait of his character was remarkably exemplified in his conduct to Laud. When that Prelate was raised to the primacy, Wentworth discontinued his familiar intercourse with him; and was only induced to resume it by the good-natured raillery of the Archbishop, who assured him, that 'the Pa-

Severe trials now awaited his fortitude. On the third of November, 1640, that parliament assembled, which was to witness during its *long* continuance the most violent of convulsions. It was composed, in a great measure, of the same individuals as its predecessor; but their dispositions were considerably changed. If their resentment, observes Macdiarmid, had been raised against their Sovereign by their abrupt dissolution, the imprisonment of members, and the arbitrary methods employed to raise money; their contempt for him had been excited by his subsequent enterprises against the Scots, so weakly prosecuted, so disgracefully relinquished. Still, however, they dreaded the vigour and the talents of Strafford. The popular leaders detested him as a traitor to their cause: the Scots, as the implacable enemy of their nation; and all were alarmed at those abilities, which had laid Ireland prostrate at his feet, and had almost inspired the royal councils with decision. It seemed to them, indeed, that nothing could be achieved, till his destruction was accomplished.

That destruction was, now, rapidly approaching. By the people he was correctly regarded as the chief author of their grievances; and he was singled out as the first victim of their vengeance. Eight days after the opening of the Long Parliament, Mr. Pym, having moved that ‘the doors of the house might be locked and the outer room cleared of strangers,’ informed the Commons, that ‘there were several complaints against the Earl of Strafford, which would furnish satisfactory grounds for his impeachment.’ The House immediately appointed a Committee of place of Lambeth was occupied by his old friend the Bishop of London.’

seven, who after a short conference reported, that ‘in their opinion there was sufficient cause to impeach the Earl of Strafford.’ Upon which, Pym accused his Lordship as ‘the bitterest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny, that any age had ever produced.’ The resentment of the House being now inflamed to it’s highest pitch, it was instantaneously voted, ‘that the Earl of Strafford be immediately impeached of high treason; and that Mr. Pym do carry up the said impeachment to the Lords.’

He was directed also to inform them, that ‘the Commons would in due time adduce their articles of accusation, and desired that the accused might in the mean time be kept in safe custody.’ Strafford, who was now in England, had that very day taken his seat in the Upper House. He had been apprised, that a design was formed to attack him: but, whether through pride, or the persuasion that he could shelter his conduct under the royal authority, he slighted the advice, and resolved to attend in his place.

He was now committed by the Lords to the custody of the black-rod, and some days afterward sent to the Tower. His impeachment consisting of twenty-eight articles, respecting his conduct as President of the Council of the North, as Governor of Ireland, and as Commander in Chief and Privy Councillor in England, was prepared. The process against him, however, could not be got ready for trial till the twenty-second of March, 1641.* The trial

* To deprive him of the advice and evidence of his friend Sir George Radcliffe, that officer was committed to the Tower on a

lasted till the twelfth of April, and drew from the noble culprit a defence which, however we may condemn his original apostasy from the cause of freedom, or the criminal subserviency of his subsequent conduct, must ever by the truth of some of its positions, and the pathetic eloquence of its conclusion, command the sympathy of posterity. Speaking of the principle of accumulative or constructive evidence, by which (as Hume remarks) many actions, either totally innocent in themselves, or criminal in a much inferior degree, shall when united amount to treason, and subject the person to the highest penalties inflicted by the law; "Where," he exclaimed, "has this species of guilt lain so long concealed? Where has this fire been so long buried, during so many centuries, that no smoke should appear, till it burst out at once to consume me and my children? Better it were to live under no law at all, and by the maxims of cautious prudence to conform ourselves, the best we can, to the arbitrary will of a master; than fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find at last that this law shall inflict a punishment precedent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims unheard of till the very moment of the prosecution. If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor; in case there be no buoy to give warning, the party shall pay me damages: but, if the anchor be marked out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark set upon this crime? Where the token,

charge of high-treason, and all communication between them strictly prohibited: and when this and other rigorous regulations relative to his witnesses justly excited his complaints, he was reminded that 'in similar circumstances a still harder measure had been dealt to the Earl of Mountnorris.'

by which I should discover it? It has lain concealed under water; and no human prudence, no human innocence, could save me from the destruction, with which I am at present threatened.

“ It is now full two hundred and forty years, since treasons were defined; and so long has it been since any man was touched to this extent, upon this crime, before myself. We have lived, my Lords, happily to ourselves at home: we have lived gloriously abroad to the world. Let us be content with what our fathers have left us. Let not our ambition carry us to be more learned, than they were, in these killing and destructive arts. Great wisdom it will be in your Lordships, and just providence for yourselves, for your posterities, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of arbitrary and constructive treasons (as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts) and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the statute, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you the path by which you may avoid it. Let us not, to our own destruction, awake those sleeping lions, by rattling up a company of old records, which have lain so many ages by the wall, forgotten and neglected. To all my afflictions add not this, my Lords, the most severe of any; that I for my other sins, not for my treasons, be the means of introducing a precedent so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native country.

“ However, these gentlemen at the bar say, ‘ they speak for the commonwealth;’ and they believe so: yet under favour it is I who, in this particular, speak for the commonwealth. Precedents, like those which are endeavoured to be established against me, must

draw along such inconveniences and miseries, that in a few years the kingdom will be in the condition expressed in a statute of Henry IV.; and ‘no man shall know by what rule to govern his words and actions.’

“Impose not, my Lords, difficulties insurmountable upon ministers of state, nor disable them from serving with cheerfulness their King and country. If you examine them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, by every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable. The public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste; and no wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, will ever engage himself in such dreadful, such unknown perils.*

“My Lords, I have now troubled your Lordships a great deal longer than I should have done. Were it not for the interest of these pledges, which a saint in heaven left me, I should be loth”——Here he pointed to his children, and his weeping stopped him. —“What I forfeit for myself, it is nothing: but,

“This surely (observes Mrs. Macaulay) is very deficient in argument; since it is apparent, that a precedent of so great a criminal being condemned by the whole power of the legislature could not in it’s consequences be so dangerous to the public or the liberty of individuals, as the example of crimes of so black a nature, and so destructive to the commonwealth, being committed with impunity. An honest and a wise man would never fear the severest scrutiny: and the weak and the wicked, being deterred from accepting public offices, or (if they did accept them) being kept within just bounds by the terrors of an after-inquiry and punishment, must be of infinite service to the well-governing of the affairs of the kingdom.” Even Hume, it should be remembered, the apologist of the Stuarts, concedes that “Strafford was secretly no enemy to arbitrary counsels, as appears from some of his letters and despatches, where he seems to wish a standing my established.”

I confess, that my indiscretion should forfeit for them, it wounds me very deeply. You will be pleased to pardon my infirmity : something I should have said ; but I see I shall not be able, and therefore I shall leave it.

“ And now, my Lords, I thank God, I have been by his blessing sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance of an eternal duration : and so, my Lords, even so, with all humility and with all tranquillity of mind, I submit clearly and freely to your judgements ; and whether that righteous doom shall be to life or death, I shall repose myself, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the great Author of my existence.” *

This address, as we learn from the unexceptionable testimony of Whitlocke, himself the Chairman of the Committee appointed to conduct the impeachment, ‘ moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity ;’ and such was the general effect which it produced, aided by the arguments of his counsel Mr. Lane, † that the Commons perceiving the sentence would infallibly prove less rigorous than they desired, immediately resolved to proceed against him by a bill of attainder : and ac-

* Rushworth, IV. 659.

† From his statements it appeared that ‘ even after the enactment of the law of treason in the reign of Edward III., men had still been harassed by charges brought within the statute only by construction : that express acts had been passed under Henry IV. and Henry VIII. to prevent these abuses, and to restrict treason entirely to the specified cases ; and that many instances had occurred of persons like his client accused of high treason, who in consequence of these regulations had been found guilty only of felony.’

cordingly came to a vote, that 'it was sufficiently proved, that the Earl of Strafford had endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government into the realms of England and Ireland; and that, consequently, he was guilty of high-treason.'

Of this proceeding the Commons attempted to veil the iniquity by an attempt not less iniquitous, and still more absurd, to satisfy the regal rules of evidence. The advice of Strafford about the employment of the Irish army, and which by a forced interpretation was construed into a design to subdue England by that force, had hitherto been attested by the solitary evidence of Sir Harry Vane: an effort was now made to maintain the charge by two witnesses, as the laws of treason required. The younger Vane, on inspecting some of his father's papers, discovered a minute (as it appeared) of the consultation, at which the words imputed to Strafford were alleged to have been spoken; and this minute was recognised by the elder Vane as taken down by him, at the time, in his quality of secretary. In reporting this discovery to the House, Mr. Pym maintained, in a solemn argument, that the written evidence of Sir Harry Vane at the period of the transaction, and his oral evidence at present, ought to be considered as equivalent to the testimony of two witnesses: and this extravagant position was actually sanctioned by the House, and adopted as a ground of their proceedings!

On the twenty-first of the same month, the bill of attainder was passed by a majority of 204 against 59.*

* To prevent, however, the retaliation of this measure upon

But as, from the opposition which it encountered among the Peers, its success in the Upper House was extremely doubtful, on the twenty-fourth a petition was presented to both Houses, subscribed by above forty thousand inhabitants of London, setting forth ‘that justice was not yet executed upon the Earl of Strafford, and that there was reason to dread some secret plot against the parliament.’ Four days afterward, the Commons informed the Lords, ‘they had received intelligence that the Earl designed to make his escape out of the Tower, as the guard about him was weak;’ and desired that he might be kept with greater vigilance, to which the Lords consented.

On the first of May, the King addressed his parliament in the following speech :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I had not any intention to have spoken to you of this business this day, which is the great business of the Earl of Strafford, because I would do nothing that might serve to hinder your occasions; but now it comes to pass that, seeing of necessity I must have part in the judgement, I think it most necessary for me to declare my conscience therein. I am sure you all know, that I have been present at the hearing of this great case, from the one end to the other; and I must tell you, that I cannot condemn him of high-treason. It is not fit for me to

their posterity, they added to the bill a clause, providing that ‘nothing done in the present case should hereafter be drawn into a precedent.’ As a warning to the Lords, it may be added, the names of the minority were posted up in conspicuous places with the superscription, ‘The Straffordians, the men who traitor would betray their country.’

argue the business; I am sure you will not expect that: a positive doctrine best becomes the mouth of a prince. Yet I must tell you three great truths, which I am sure nobody knows so well as myself.

“ First, That I never had any intention of bringing over the Irish army into England; nor ever was advised by any body so to do. Secondly, That there was never any debate before me, neither in public council nor at private committee, of the disloyalty of my English subjects; nor ever had I any suspicion of them. Thirdly, I was never counselled by any one to alter the least of any of the laws of England, much less to alter all the laws. Nay, I must tell you this, I think nobody durst ever be so impudent to move me in it: for, if they had, I should have put such a mark upon them, and made them such an example, that all posterity should know my intentions by it; for my intention was, ever to govern according to law, and no otherwise.

“ I desire to be rightly understood. I told you, in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high-treason; yet I cannot say, I can clear him of misdemeanors: therefore I hope you may find a way to satisfy justice and your own fears, and not press upon my conscience. Yet I must declare unto you that, to satisfy my people, I would do great matters; but this of conscience, no fear, no respect, whatever shall ever make me go against it. Certainly I have not so ill deserved of the parliament at this time, that they should press me in this tender point, and therefore I cannot expect that you will go about it. Nay, I must confess, for matters of misdemeanors, I am so clear in that, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet let me tell you, that I do think my Lord

of Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me or the commonwealth in any place of trust ; no, not so much as that of a constable : therefore I leave it to you, my Lords, to find some such way as may bring me out of this great streight, and keep ourselves and the kingdom from such great inconveniences. Certainly he, that thinks him guilty of high-treason, in his conscience may condemn him of misdemeanors."

The Earl of Clarendon insinuates, that Lord Say advised Charles to make this speech, in order to draw him into a snare, and to render the Earl of Strafford's ruin more sure. It is certain, when Strafford was informed by his overjoyed friends, that ' his Majesty had spoken in his favour,' he received it as his doom: ' the King's kindness,' he told them, ' had ruined him, and he had little else to do but to prepare himself for death.' The Commons, indeed, were highly offended with the royal harangue ; saying, ' It was ~~an~~ unprecedented thing, that he should meddle with bills before they were presented to him, and that it ~~had~~ a tendency to take away the freedom of votes : ' and adjourned till Monday, the third of May ; on which day, a great multitude at Westminster insulted and threatened the Lords, as they were going to the house, crying out, ' Justice ! Justice ! '

A petition, also, was presented by the people the same day to the Upper House, demanding that ' their Lordships would free them from their fear of a conspiracy : while a second stated, that ' the Tower was about to receive a garrison of men, not from the Hamlets as usual, but consisting of other persons under the command of a friend of Strafford's, with a ~~view~~ (as was suggested) of facilitating that nobleman's escape.'

Upon this, the House sent six peers to examine Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower; who answered, that ‘ he had undoubtedly his Majesty’s order to receive into the Tower one hundred men, of the selection and under the command of Captain Billingsley; but that, understanding now their Lordships’ pleasure, he would admit no other than the usual guard.’

The Lords farther declared, at a conference with the Commons, that ‘ they were drawing to a conclusion of the bill of attainder, but were so encompassed with the mob that they might be conceived not to be free;’ and therefore they desired the Commons to join with them, in devising some method to send the people to their homes. Upon this the Commons debated the Protestation, which had previously been drawn up in order to be signed by all the members, purporting that ‘ each member should to the utmost of his power defend the religion of the church of England and the privileges of parliament; and, likewise, bring to condign punishment all, who by force or conspiracy should do any thing against either.’ This Protestation being passed, and taken by four hundred and thirty three Commoners, and one hundred and six Lords (including the Bishops, and Judges) they ordered Dr. Burgess to communicate the intelligence to the multitude, on which they immediately dispersed. When the bill came to a vote, of eighty Lords who had been present during the whole trial, only forty six ventured to attend; and of these eleven voted in the negative.

The parliament of Ireland, on learning that the Earl of Strafford was confined in the Tower, had sent a committee of both Houses to England, with a re-

monstrance concerning the grievances which they had endured under his administration. In the mean while, Charles fruitlessly endeavoured to snatch his minister from his fate. Mobs, armed with clubs and swords, surrounded his palace, crying out, 'Justice! Justice!' and demanding the royal assent to the bill. The Commons, imagining that he had no other expedient left to extricate himself from his difficulties except a dissolution of parliament, with a view to deprive him of this refuge ordered the bringing-in of a bill, enacting that 'it might not be dissolved without the consent of both Houses.'

The King then called together his Privy Council, with his lawyers, and laid before them the reasons which ought to prevent him from giving his assent: but Juxon, Bishop of London, was the only one, who ventured to advise him to 'reject a bill presented to him by both Houses.' All the rest did their utmost to persuade him to satisfy his people, alleging, that 'no individual life ought to be put in the balance with the safety of his kingdom. With regard to his religious scruples, his Bishops (they told him) would give him the best advice.'

Upon this occasion Neile, Archbishop of York (it is said) observed, that 'there was a private and a public conscience; that his public conscience, as a King, might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do that, which was against his private conscience as a man; and so in plain terms he advised him, even for conscience' sake, to pass the act.'

What contributed most decisively, however, to determine Charles, was a letter from Strafford himself; who, hearing of his Sovereign's perplexities, humbly besought him to 'remove him out of the way toward

a blessed agreement, which he doubted not God would for ever establish between him and his subjects: adding, that his consent would more acquit his Majesty to God, than all the world could do besides. To a willing man (he said) there is no injury.* At last, the King, no longer able to withstand the pressing instances of the parliament and his own counsellors, or rather the fear of the calamities which he foresaw might befall him and his posterity if he persevered in his refusal, signed a commission to three Lords to pass the bill in his name.†

But notwithstanding Strafford's letter, when Charles sent Secretary Carlton to him, to acquaint him with what had been done and what were his motives, the Earl seriously asked the Secretary, 'Whether his Majesty had passed the bill or not;' and being answered in the affirmative, rose from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand on his heart, and said, "*O put not your trust in princes, nor in any child of man, for there is no help in them.*"‡

The King, subsequently, made a fresh effort in his behalf; and in a letter, transmitted by the young Prince, entreated the Peers to confer with the Commons about a mitigation of Strafford's sentence; but without effect.§ Only three days' interval were allowed him for

* *Volenti non fit injuria.*

† For this "base and unworthy concession concerning Strafford," as he himself pronounces it in a letter to Clarendon, strong compunction haunted him during the remainder of his life; and, even at his death, the memory of it with great remorse recurred upon him.

‡ Ps. cxi. i. 3.

§ On the suggestion of Strafford's brother-in-law, Hollis (who, though one of the popular leaders, had taken no part in the prosecution) Charles, we learn from Rushworth, had deter-

preparation : he employed them in the concerns of his friends, and of his family. He humbly petitioned the House of Lords to have compassion on his innocent children : exhorted by letter his eldest son to be obedient and grateful to those entrusted with his education ; sincere and faithful toward his Sovereign, if he should ever be called into public service ; and, as he foresaw that the revenues of the church would be despoiled, to take no part in a sacrilege, which would ‘ certainly be followed by the curse of heaven.’ He shed tears over the untimely fate of Wandesford, who on learning the danger of his friend and patron had fallen a victim to despair : and, in a parting epistle to his wife, endeavoured to support her courage ; expressing a hope, that ‘ his successor, Lord Dillon, would behave with tenderness to her and her orphans.’

On Wednesday, the twelfth of May 1641, on his way to the scaffold on Tower Hill, he stopped under the window of Laud, with whom he had long lived in intimate friendship, to request the assistance of his prayers. The aged primate pronounced, with a broken voice, a tender blessing on his head, and sunk into the arms of his attendants. Strafford su-

mined to go himself to the House of Peers with a petition from the Earl in his hand, and to entreat that they would endeavour to procure the consent of the Commons to an exchange of his punishment from death to perpetual imprisonment. But the Queen, fearing that Strafford could only hope for such a favour on condition of accusing her and betraying her councils, induced her uxorious husband to employ his son upon the occasion, and even to abandon his whole proposal by adding to the cold postscript, “ If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him ~~all~~ Saturday ” A proposition, so frigid, was not likely to be successful.

perior to his fate, though buoyed up neither by glory nor by sympathy, proceeded forward. Neither the terrors of his death, nor the triumph of his enemies, had power to deject his undaunted mind. The mildness, which had taken place of the usual severity of his forehead, expressed repentance enlivened by hope, and fortitude tempered by resignation. In the multitudes around him, he saw nothing to damp his courage, or to disturb his composure: the same men, who had so lately with turbulent exclamations demanded his death, now gazed in silence upon their intrepid victim. He looked round upon them with complacency, and frequently taking off his hat, bowed to them on either hand. With a firm step, he mounted the scaffold: when observing his brother, Sir George Wentworth, weeping immoderately, "Brother," said he, "what do you see in me to deserve these tears? Doth any indecent fear betray in me a guilt, or my innocent boldness any atheism? Think now, that you are accompanying me the third time to my marriage-bed. Never did I throw off my clothes with greater freedom and content, than in this preparation to my grave. That stock (pointing to the block) must be my pillow; here shall I rest from all my labours: no thoughts of envy, no dreams of treason, jealousies, or cares for the King, the state, or myself shall interrupt this easy sleep. Therefore, brother, with me pity those who, beside their intention, have made me happy: rejoice in my happiness, rejoice in my innocence."

Then kneeling down, he made this protestation: "I hope, gentlemen, you do think that neither the fear of loss, nor love of reputation, will suffer me

to belie God and my own conscience at this time. I am now in the very door going out, and my next step must be from time to eternity, either of peace or pain. To clear myself before you all, I do here solemnly call God to witness, I am not guilty, so far as I can understand, of the great crime laid to my charge; nor have ever had the least inclination or intention to damnify or prejudice the King, the state, the laws, or the religion of this kingdom; but with my best endeavours to serve all, and to support all: so may God be merciful to my soul!"

After which, he said he desired to 'speak something to the people, but was afraid he should be heard but by few, on account of the noise.' He then adjusted himself to the block, and this causing a profound silence, he rose again, and thus addressed the spectators:

"My Lord Primate of Ireland, and my Lords, and the rest of these noble gentlemen: it is a great comfort to me to have your Lordships by me this day, because I have been known to you a long time; and I now desire to be heard a few words. I come here by the good will and pleasure of Almighty God, to pay that last debt I owe to sin, which is death; and by the blessing of that God to rise again, through the merits of Jesus Christ, to righteousness and life eternal." Here he was a little interrupted.

"My Lords, I am come hither to submit to that judgement, which hath passed against me: I do it with a very quiet and contented mind. I thank God, I do freely forgive all the world; forgiveness, that is not spoken from the teeth outward, as they say, but from the very heart. I speak it in the presence of Almighty God, before whom I stand; and

there is not a displeasing thought arising in me toward any man living. I thank God, I can say it (and truly too, my conscience bearing me witness) that in all my employments, since I had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart but what tended to the joint and individual prosperity of King and people, although it hath been my ill fortune to be misconstrued.

“I am not the first, that hath suffered in this kind; it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life, to err: righteous judgement we must wait for in another place, for here we are very subject to be misjudged one of another. There is one thing, that I desire to free myself of; and I am very confident,” speaking now with much cheerfulness, “that I shall obtain your Christian charity in the belief of it. I was so far from being against parliaments, that I did always think the parliaments of England were the most happy constitutions that any kingdom or nation lived under, and the best means under God to make the King and people happy.

“For my death, I here acquit all the world, and beseech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purposes of my heart I am not guilty of what I die for: and, my Lord Primate, it is a great comfort for me, that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a punishment as is the utmost execution of this sentence. I do infinitely rejoice in this mercy of his; and I beseech God to return it into his own bosom, that he may find mercy when he stands most in need of it

“I wish this kingdom all the prosperity and happiness in the world; I did it living, and now dying,

it is my wish. I do most humbly recommend this to every one, who hears me; and desire they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and consider seriously, whether the beginning of the happiness and reformation of a kingdom should be written in letters of blood. Consider this, when you are at your homes; and let me be never so unhappy, as that the least drop of my blood should rise up in judgement against any one of you; but I fear you are in a wrong way.

“ My Lords, I have but one word more, and with that I shall end. I profess, that I die a true and obedient son to the Church of England, wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to it!

“ It hath been objected (if it were an objection worth the answering) that ‘ I have been inclined to Popery; ’ but I say truly from my heart, that from the time that I was one and twenty years of age to this present, going now upon forty nine, I never had in my heart to doubt of this religion of the Church of England; nor ever had any man the boldness to suggest any such thing to me, to the best of my remembrance: and so being reconciled by the merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, into whose bosom I hope I shall shortly be gathered to those eternal happinesses which shall never have end, I desire heartily the forgiveness of every man for any rash or unadvised words, or any thing done amiss: and so, my Lords and gentlemen, farewell; farewell, all things of this world.

“ I desire that you would be silent, and join with me in prayer: and I trust in God, we shall all meet and live eternally in Heaven, there to receive the

accomplishment of all happiness; where every tear shall be wiped away from our eyes, and every sad thought from our hearts: and so God bless this kingdom, and Jesus have mercy on my soul!"

Then turning himself about, he saluted all the noblemen, and took a solemn leave of all considerable persons upon the scaffold (among the rest, Archbishop Usher, who had been a witness against him) giving them his hand. After which he added, "Gentlemen, I would say my prayers, and entreat you all to pray with me, and for me." His chaplain then laid the book of Common Prayer upon the chair before him as he kneeled down, on which he prayed almost a quarter of an hour, and afterward as long or longer without the book, concluding with the Lord's Prayer.

When he rose up, he called to him his brother Sir George Wentworth, saying, "Brother, we must part; remember me to my sister, and to my wife; and carry my blessing to my son, and charge him that he fear God and continue an obedient son to the Church of England, and warn him that he bear no private grudge or revenge toward any man concerning me; and bid him beware, that he meddle not with church-livings, for that will prove a moth and a canker to him in his estate; and wish him to content himself to be a servant to his country, not aiming at high preferments. Carry my blessing also to my daughters, Anne and Arabella: charge them to serve and fear God, and he will bless them; not forgetting my little infant, who yet knows neither good nor evil, and cannot speak for itself; God speak for it, and bless it! Now," said he, "I have nigh done; one stroke will make my wife husbandless, my dear children fatherless, and my poor servants masterless, and

will separate me from my dear brother and all my friends ; but let God be to you and them, all in all !”

After this, proceeding to take off his doublet and to make himself ready, he said, “ I thank God, I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement arising from any fears ; but do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to bed.” He then bound up his hair with his hands, and put on a white cap.

After this, he asked, “ Where is the man that is to do this last office ? Call him to me.” Upon his craving forgiveness, he told him, ‘ he forgave him and all the world.’ Then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again himself, Archbishop Usher kneeling on one side, and his chaplain on the other ; to whom after prayer he turned himself, and spake some few words softly, having his hands lifted up and closed within his chaplain’s hands. Then bowing himself to lay his head upon the block, he told the executioner, that ‘ he would first lay down his head to try the fitness of the block, and take it up again, before he submitted it to the blow ; adding, that he would give him warning when to strike, by stretching forth his hands :’ and presently laying down his neck upon the block, and stretching forth his hands, the executioner struck off his head at one blow ; and taking it up in his hand, showed it to all the people, crying out, “ God save the King !”

His body was afterward embalmed, and carried into Yorkshire, to be buried among his ancestors.

Great rejoicings were made in London upon his death ; and several persons, who had come from different parts of the kingdom to see the execution, re-

turned back in a kind of triumph, waving their hats on passing through every town, as if some national victory had been obtained, and exclaiming, ‘ His head is off! His head is off!’

A few weeks however after his death, the parliament mitigated to his children the most severe consequences of their father’s sentence; and in a succeeding reign the attainder was reversed, the proceedings obliterated from the public records, and his only son William restored to his fortune and his honours.

The Earl of Strafford was in figure tall and stately; his features were grave and dignified, and he possessed many personal accomplishments; but he was ambitious, haughty, and passionate. He was assiduous in his application to public business, and in private life, a sincere, strenuous, and generous friend.

He may rank in the list of Noble Authors, on account of his Letters, which were published in two volumes folio, in 1739, by Dr. William Knowler; but as the stile is liable to considerable exceptions, and the subjects are chiefly political, in which branch of knowledge he certainly did not excel, his reputation as an author scarcely merits our notice.

“ He was a man of great parts,” says Lord Clarendon, “ and extraordinary endowments of nature; not unadorned with some addition of art and learning, though that again was more improved and illustrated by the other: for he had a readiness of conception, and sharpness of expression, which made his learning thought more than in truth it was. His first inclinations and addresses to the court were only to establish his greatness in the country; where he apprehended

some acts of power from the Lord Savile,* who had been his rival always there, and of late had strengthened himself by being made a Privy-Councillor and officer at court. But his first attempts were so prosperous, that he contented not himself with being secure from that Lord's power in the country, but rested not till he had bereaved his adversary of all power and place in court; and so sent him down, a most abject disconsolate old man, to his country, where he was to have the superintendency over him too, by getting himself at that time made Lord President of the North. These successes, applied to a nature too elate and haughty of itself, and a quicker progress into the greatest employments and trust, made him more transported with disdain of other men, and more contemning the forms of business, than happily he would have been, if he had met with some interruptions in the beginning, and had passed in a more leisurely gradation to the office of a statesman.

“He was, no doubt, of great observation and a piercing judgement, both in things and persons; but his too good skill in persons made him judge the worse of things: for it was his misfortune, to be in a time wherein very few wise men were equally employed with him; and scarce any (but the Lord Coventry, whose trust was more confined) whose faculties and abilities were equal to his. So that, upon the matter, he relied wholly upon himself: and, discerning

* “Sir Thomas Wentworth,” says Howell, their contemporary, “and Mr. Wansford are grown great courtiers lately, and come from Westminster-Hall to White-Hall (Sir John Savile, their countryman, having shown them the way with his white staff). The Lord Weston tampered with the one, and my Lord

māny defects in most men, he too much neglected what they said or did. Of all his passions, his pride was most predominant; which a moderate exercise of ill fortune might have corrected and reformed, and which was by the hand of heaven strangely punished, by bringing his destruction upon him by two things that he most despised, the people and Sir Harry Vane.* In a word, the epitaph, which Plutarch records that Sylla wrote for himself, may not be unfitly applied to him, that ‘no man did ever exceed him, either in doing good to his friends, or in doing mischief to his enemies;’ for his acts of both kinds were most notorious.”

Cottington took pains with the other, to bring them about from their violence against the prerogative: and I am told, the first of them is promised my Lord’s place at York, in case his sickness continues.” (*Westm.* 5 Aug. 1629.)

* ‘Sir Henry Vane had not far to look back to the time, that the Earl had with great earnestness opposed his being made Secretary, and prevailed for above a month’s delay; which, though it was done with great reason and justice by the Earl on the behalf of an old fellow-servant and his very good friend, Sir John Coke (who was to be, and afterward was, removed to let him in) yet the justice to the one lessened not the sense of unkindness to the other: after which, or about the same time (which, it may be, made the other to be the more virulently remembered) being to be made Earl of Strafford, he would needs in that patent have a new creation of a barony, and was made Baron of Raby, a house belonging to Sir Henry Vane, and an honour he made account should belong to himself; which was an act of the most unnecessary provocation, though he contemned the man with marvellous scorn, that I have known, and I believe was the chief occasion of the loss of his head.’

RICHARD BOYLE,

EARL OF CORK.*

[1566—1643.]

RICHARD BOYLE, distinguished in history by the title of ‘The Great Earl of Cork,’ was descended from a family, whose name before the Conquest was Biervelle. He was the youngest son of Mr. Roger Boyle of Herefordshire, by Joan daughter of Mr. Robert Naylor of Canterbury, where he was born in the year 1566. He was instructed by a Kentish clergyman in grammar-learning; and after having distinguished himself at Bene’t College, Cambridge, by his great temperance, early rising, and indefatigable application, he became a student in the Temple.

His father dying when he was only ten years old, and his mother before he had attained the age of twenty, he found himself unable from his narrow circumstances to prosecute his studies, and therefore entered as clerk into the service of Sir Richard Manwood, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer. Finding however that this situation would not advance him in life, he determined to travel, and ac-

AUTHORITIES. *Budgell’s Memoirs of the Boyles, and Coxe’s History of Ireland.*

cordingly embarked for Dublin in 1588, with fewer pounds* in his pocket, than he afterward acquired thousands *per ann.* He was about two and twenty, and with a graceful person united all the accomplishments requisite to enable a young man to succeed in a country, which was at that period the scene of so much action. Accordingly, by drawing up memorials, cases, and answers, he rendered himself extremely useful to some of the principal persons employed in the government; and acquired at the same time a perfect knowledge of the state of public affairs, of which he well knew how to avail himself. In 1595, he married Joan, daughter and co-heiress of William Apsley, Esq. of Limerick, who had fallen in love with him; and by this connexion, though it unhappily terminated by her death in child-bed of her first child (born dead) in 1599, laid the foundation of his future success in life. She bequeathed to him her whole property, about 500*l.* *per ann.*

Some time afterward, Sir Henry Wallop of Nares, Sir Robert Gardiner Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir Robert Dillarn Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, and Sir Richard Bingham Chief Commissioner of Connaught, filled with envy at certain purchases which he had made in the province, represented to Queen Elizabeth that 'he was in the pay of the King of Spain, who had supplied him with

* His whole stock was "27*l.* 3*s.* in money and two tokens, which my mother (he says) had formerly given me, viz. a diamond ring, which I ever have since and still do wear, and a bracelet of gold worth about 10*l.*; a taffety doublet cut with and upon taffety; a pair of black velvet breeches laced; a new Milan fustian suit laced, and cut upon taffety; two cloaks; competent linen and necessaries, with my rapier and dagger."

money upon the occasion; and that he was strongly suspected of being a Papist in his heart,' with many other malicious suggestions to his disadvantage. Before he could take shipping, however, for England to justify himself, the rebellion in Munster broke out; and all his lands were laid waste in the general ravage. In this distress, he retook possession of his former chamber in the Middle Temple, for the purpose of resuming his studies in the law till the disturbances should be suppressed. When the Earl of Essex was nominated Lord Deputy of Ireland, Mr. Boyle, on the recommendation of Mr. Antony Bacon, was graciously received by his Lordship: but Wallop, at that time Treasurer of the country, knowing that he had in his custody complete evidences of his official malversations, renewed his former complaints against him to the Queen; upon which, he was suddenly committed close prisoner to the Gate-House. And although, upon the examination of his papers, nothing appeared to his prejudice, his confinement lasted till his noble patron had for two months occupied his new government. At length he, with much difficulty, obtained the favour of the Queen's attendance at his examination; when having fully answered every charge alleged against him, and given a short statement of his conduct from his first settling in Ireland, he concluded with laying before the council-board the machinations of his chief enemy, Sir Henry Wallop; on which, her Majesty broke out into these words: "By God's death! these are but inventions against this young man; and all his sufferings are for being able to do us service, and these complaints urged to forestall him therein. But we find him to be a man fit to be employed by ourselves,

and we will employ him in our service; and Wallop, and his adherents, shall know that it shall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him: neither shall Wallop be our Treasurer any longer." She then issued orders not only for Mr. Boyle's present release, but also for paying all the charges and fees incident to his confinement, and gave him her hand to kiss before the whole assembly. A few days afterward, she constituted him Clerk of the Council of Munster, and recommended him to Sir George Carew.* In that capacity he attended the Lord President in all his employments, and in 1601 was despatched to the Queen with the news of the victory gained near Kinsale, over the Irish and their Spanish auxiliaries. "I made (says he) a speedy expedition to the court, for I left my Lord President at Shannon Castle near Cork on Monday morning about two o'clock: and the next day, being Tuesday, I delivered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, being then principal Secretary of State, at his house in the Strand; who after supper held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning, and by seven that morning † called upon me to attend him to the court, where he presented me to her Majesty in her bed-chamber."

* Subsequently Earl of Totness, then Lord President of Munster, who became his steadfast friend. This clerkship of the Council, he remarks, was 'the second rise, which God gave to his fortune.'

† "Poor Budgell," says Chalmers, "who when he wrote his 'Memoirs of the Boyles' was out of humour with all mankind, and especially with ministers of state, observes upon this early visit; 'If we reflect upon the hours our ministers keep at present, we shall be the less surprised to find, that our affairs are not managed altogether so successfully as in the days of Queen Elizabeth.'"

Upon his return to Ireland, Mr. Boyle assisted at the siege of Beerhaven Castle, which was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword. After the reduction of the western part of the province, the Lord President sent him again to England to solicit the Queen's leave for his return: and having advised him to buy Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munster,* gave him a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, containing a very favourable statement of his abilities and services; in consideration of which, he desired the Secretary to 'introduce him to Sir Walter as a respectable purchaser.' Carew wrote at the same time to Raleigh himself, advising him to 'sell Mr. Boyle his Irish estates, which to his Lordship's knowledge from want of tenants had never yielded him any benefit, but on the contrary, for the support of his titles, cost him annually 200*l*.'† At a meeting between Cecil, Raleigh, and Boyle, the purchase was concluded on easy terms.‡

In 1602, by Carew's advice, he paid his addresses to Katharine, daughter of Sir George Fenton, and married her in 1603, her father being at that time principal Secretary of State. "I never demanded," says he, "any marriage-portion with her, neither promise of any, it not being in my considerations: yet her father, after my marriage, gave me one thousand pounds in gold with her. But that gift of his daughter to me I must ever thankfully ac-

* Consisting of 12,000 acres in the counties of Cork and Waterford: on this Boyle settled English Protestants only, and by his buildings and other improvements soon rendered it the most thriving property in Ireland.

† This Mr. Boyle calls, 'the third addition and rise to his estate.'

knowledge as the crown of all my blessings; for she was a most religious, virtuous, loving, and obedient wife to me all the days of her life, and the mother of all my hopeful children."

On his wedding-day he received the honour of knighthood from Carew, now promoted to be Lord Deputy of Ireland. In 1606, he was sworn a Privy Councillor to King James for the province of Munster; and in 1612, for the kingdom of Ireland. In 1616, he was created Lord Boyle, Baron of Youghall; and in 1620, Viscount Dungarvan, and Earl of Cork. The new Lord Deputy (Falkland) having strongly represented his services to Charles I., his Majesty by a letter dated November 30, 1627, directed his Excellency to confer the honours of Baron Bandon and Viscount Kinelmeky upon the Earl's second surviving son Lewis, though he was then only eight years old. In 1629, on the departure of Lord Falkland, the Earl of Cork, in conjunction with Lord Loftus, was appointed one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, and held that office several years. In the February following, he lost his Countess. In 1631, he was constituted Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and had interest sufficient to get that high office made hereditary in his family. Nevertheless, he suffered many mortifications during the administration of Lord Wentworth, afterward Earl of Strafford, who from a jealousy of his authority determined to bring him down; imagining that, if he could humble the 'great Earl of Cork,' no one besides in that country could give him much trouble. From the evidence which he gave upon that nobleman's trial it appeared, that when he had commenced a suit at law, Strafford arbitrarily forbade his pro-

ceeding in it, saying; " Call in your writs, or if you will not, I will clap you in the castle; for I tell you, I will not have my orders disputed by law, nor lawyers.* On the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, the Earl of Cork, as soon as he returned from England, raised two troops of horse, which he placed under the command of his sons, Viscount Kinelmeaky and Lord Broghill, maintaining them with four hundred foot for some months at his own charge. In the battle of Liscarrol, in 1642, four of his sons were engaged under Lord Inchiquin, and the eldest fell in the field. The Earl himself died about a year afterward, aged seventy-eight, having spent the last as he did the first part of his life, in supporting the crown of England against the Irish rebels.

Though not an English Peer, he was admitted, on account of his eminent abilities and knowledge of the world, to sit in the House of Lords upon the wool-sack, *ut consiliarius*. When Cromwell witnessed his prodigious and unexpected improvements in Ireland, he declared that, ' if there had been an Earl of Cork in every province, there could have been no rebellion.'

* Lord Cork, for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of his second lady, had purchased in 1630 from the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's the inheritance of the upper part of the chancel, where her maternal grandfather (the Lord Chancellor Weston) and her father were interred. This tomb, it was alleged, ' occupied the place where the altar ought to stand.' A complaint upon the subject was transmitted to Charles I., who referred the matter to Laud, then Bishop of London; and Laud on becoming Primate, unsatisfied with the representations of the Irish Archbishops Usher and Bulkeley (who stated, that ' the tomb was not so situated, and that instead of being an inconvenience it was a great ornament to the church') moved Wentworth, then Lord Deputy, that an inquiry might be instituted. The result was, that the tomb was removed.

He rigidly exercised his power in executing Queen Elizabeth's severe laws against the Catholics, and shut up many mass-houses which had been opened, as well in Dublin as in the country. He also transplanted a number of the uncivilised natives from the fertile province of Leinster to the deserts of Kerry ; in apt conformity to the wretched system of policy, which has so long regarded Ireland as a conquered country, and it's inhabitants as slaves ever ready to rebel against their masters.

He affected not places and titles, until he was able to maintain them ; for he was in his thirty seventh year when he became a Knight, and in his fiftieth when he was raised to the peerage. He made large purchases, but not till he was able to improve them ; and by his prudence he grew rich upon estates, which had ruined their former possessors. He increased his wealth, not by hoarding, but by spending ; for he built and walled several towns at his own cost, in places so well situated, that they were quickly filled with inhabitants, who by moderate rents speedily reimbursed him with interest. The money, so returned, he as readily laid out again : and thus, in the space of forty years, acquired to himself what in some countries would be esteemed a noble principality. He was consequently enabled to bestow estates upon his sons,* as they successively

* He had fifteen children by his second wife (seven sons, and eight daughters) many of whom survived him, and attained great distinction. His fifth son Roger, at the age of seven created in 1628 Baron Broghill, signalised himself against the rebels ; is said afterward to have suggested to the Protector the scheme of marrying his daughter Frances to the exiled Sovereign Charles II., and of assuming the title of King (both without effect) ; in 1660

arrived at years of discretion, and he married his daughters into the best families in Ireland. His power and credit were continually increasing, and while the English admired his wisdom, his countrymen stood amazed at his magnificence: for, with the power and property, he had the soul and spirit of a prince; and his castle of Lismore looked rather like the palace of a sovereign, than the residence of a private man, whose estate was of his own raising. He outlived most of those, who had known the lowliness of his beginning; but with a noble contempt of mere pedigree he delighted to remember it himself, and even took pains to transmit the memory of it to posterity, in the motto which he always used, and which he caused to be placed upon his tomb, 'GOD'S PROVIDENCE IS MY INHERITANCE.'

was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Orrery, and appointed one of the Lords Justices for Ireland: and, though subsequently deprived of his presidential power in Munster, and even impeached for high treason in parliament, he contrived to be consulted in difficult emergencies by the King, and uprightly though unsuccessfully to oppose the favourite projects of a French alliance and Dutch humiliation. Voluminous, though not eminent as a writer, in the capacity of a patron of literature, he was respectable. Of his youngest son and fourteenth child Robert, one of the most illustrious philosophers of modern times, a Memoir is given in a subsequent volume. Francis was created Lord Shannon. From these sons descended the Earls of Burlington (whose heiress carried Lismore, with great Irish property, into the Devonshire family) of Cork and Orrery, now united, and of Shannon; and, as an additional proof of their illustrious parent's influence, may be named the Earl of Blessington (a title extinct in 1769) descended from his eldest brother, for whom he procured the bishopric of Cork. His daughters married, respectively, the Earls of Barrymore, Warwick, and Kildare, and the Lords Digby, Goring, Loftus, and Ranelagh.

JOHN HAMPDEN.¹

[1594—1643.]

FEW private individuals, in any age or nation, have acquired or deserved greater honour than John Hampden, whose memory is revered to this hour by every lover of his country and every friend to the rights of mankind. As it is the chief object of civil society to provide for the welfare of the whole by delegating authority to one or more officers under certain prescribed limitations, it appears naturally to follow from this consideration that, failing in the execution of their duties, such officers may be lawfully stripped of their function: and those illustrious characters, who have been instrumental in resisting their encroachments, whether under the name of ‘Emperors,’ of ‘Kings,’ of ‘Protectors,’ or of republican magistrates, will ever be considered, when the tide of passion and prejudice has had its flow, as genuine patriots.

John Hampden, the son of John Hampden Esq. descended from an ancient family of that name, whose paternal estate was situated at Great Hampden in

AUTHORITIES. Warwick's *Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I.*, Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, and Macauley's *History of England*.

Buckinghamshire, and of Elizabeth second daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell,* was born in London in 1594. At fifteen, he was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford; but he took no degree. From Oxford he removed to one of the Inns of Court, and closely applied himself to the study of the law† till the death of his parents, which occurred in the course of a few years. Upon this event succeeding to an ample fortune, he indulged with other young men in some of the dissipations of his age; though he subsequently adopted a more reserved and austere mode of life, and courted the society of persons of graver dispositions.

He preserved, however, in his temper a natural vivacity and cheerfulness; and by a complete personal reform qualified himself for those public duties, in the discharge of which he afterward rendered himself so conspicuous. In 1621, he sat in parliament for Grampound; and in 1625, for Wendover, a borough in the neighbourhood of his own seat. In 1626, he was confined in Hampshire, for having resisted an arbitrary loan. In the course of the latter year, he was elected a member of the second parliament of Charles I.; and about the same time he married a daughter of Thomas Foley Esq., great-grandfather to the first Lord Foley, then the widow of Edward Knightley, Esq. of Northamptonshire. He no sooner took his seat as a senator, than he vigorously promoted an inquiry into the national grievances, strenuously recommended an application to the throne

* The grandfather of Oliver Cromwell.

† Sir Philip Warwick observes, that 'he had great knowledge' both in scholarship and the law.'

for redress before any permanent revenue was settled on the new Sovereign, and declared himself an adversary of the Duke of Buckingham. This line of conduct endeared him to the leading members of opposition, by whom, as he likewise possessed the talent of speaking well, he was deemed a great acquisition. In 1628, when he was again returned for Wendover, he narrowly escaped imprisonment with some others (called, 'the Riotous Members') who were committed to the Tower for having locked the doors of the House and held the Speaker in the chair, while the famous protestation was read against innovations in religion, and the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament. But, though he was omitted in this warrant, he was soon afterward taken into custody in consequence of having refused to supply the King with money on an illegal loan.

His patriotic character now began to display itself without doors; but it was not generally known till the year 1636, when the eyes not only of his countrymen, but of all Europe, were fixed upon him. They beheld with astonishment a private gentleman (a 'simple individual,' as he is stiled by some foreign writers) standing forth singly to assert the rights of his fellow-subjects, invaded in his person by the exaction of ship-money, against the united efforts of the King, the ministry, the crown-lawyers, and the numerous dependents of a court; all of them interested (in many instances, against their own consciences) to oppress, or to defame, him for presuming to dispute the will of his Sovereign. Unawed however by authority, and unabashed by calumny, he

resolutely sustained the whole weight of royal vengeance for contemned prerogative.

And what made this, his noble resistance against the encroachments of arbitrary power, the more extraordinary was, that the King had newly fortified himself with an opinion of the twelve Judges, 'that it was lawful for him, when the good and safety of the kingdom is in danger, by writ under the great seal of England to command all his subjects at their charge to provide and furnish such a number of ships with men, victuals, and ammunition, and for such a time as his Majesty should think fit, &c.'

The case, with respect to Hampden, stood as follows: He was rated at twenty shillings, for an estate which he held at Stoke Mandeville in Buckinghamshire. Rightly judging, that this was the proper crisis to try the merits of the impost, he refused to pay it. Upon this, he was prosecuted by the Crown in the Court of Exchequer, where the cause was brought to a solemn trial. To render the issue more decisive in all subsequent cases, the barons requested the assistance of their brethren. It was argued for twelve days by the most eminent counsel at the bar, and in the end, as might have been expected, determined against Mr. Hampden.* The Judges however were not unanimous, as they had previously been, when they delivered their opinion

* The arguments of Hutton and Crooke, with the certificate of Denham, were published in 1641, and give many copious and constitutional views of the subject.

Hampden had previously, with some others, engaged a vessel to convey them to New England, in order to escape the tyranny

to the King. Weston, Crawley, Berkeley, Vernon, Trevor, Finch, Bramston, and Smith gave the cause in favour of the Crown: Hutton, C. P., Crooke, K. B., and Denham of the Exchequer were for Mr. Hampden; and the judgement of Jones was, ‘that Hampden should pay ship-money, with this condition however, that none of it should pass into the King’s purse, as if it did, his opinion was against it.’ From this time, Mr. Hampden received the appellation of ‘the Patriot.’

Lord Clarendon, speaking of the imposition of ship-money, says, “That pressure was borne with much more cheerfulness before the judgement for the King, than ever it was after: men before pleasing themselves with doing somewhat for the King’s service, as a testimony of their affection, which they were not bound to do: many really believing the necessity, and therefore thinking the burthen reasonable; others observing, that the advantage to the King was of importance, when the damage to themselves was not considerable: and all assuring themselves, that when they should be weary or unwilling to continue the payment, they might resort to the law for relief and find it. But when they heard this demanded in a court of law as a right, and found it by sworn judges of the law adjudged so, upon such grounds and reasons as every stander-by was able to

of the Star-Chamber and the High-Commission Courts; not for the purpose, as Hume sarcastically remarks, of “enjoying lectures and discourses of any length, or form, which pleased them” (whence that historian would infer, that the ensuing quarrel was rather theological, than political): but Charles I., by an exercise of power fatal to himself, prohibited the projected emigration.

swear was not law, and so had lost the pleasure and delight of being kind and dutiful to the King, and instead of giving were required to pay, and by a logic that left no man any thing which he might call his own, they no more looked upon it as the case of one man, but the case of the kingdom; not as an imposition laid upon them by the King, but by the Judges; which they thought themselves bound, in conscience to the public justice, not to submit to. And here," continued he, "the damage and mischief cannot be expressed, which the crown and state sustained by the deserved reproach and infamy that attended the Judges, by being made use of in this and like acts of power; there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves, but by the integrity and innocency of the Judges."

"The imposition of ship-money," Hume himself observes, "was apparently one of the most dangerous invasions of national privileges, not only which Charles was ever guilty of, but which the most arbitrary princes in England, since any liberty had been ascertained to the people, had ventured upon. In vain were precedents of ancient writs produced: those writs, when examined, were only found to require the sea-ports, sometimes at their own charge; sometimes at the charge of the counties, to send their ships for the defence of the nation. Even the prerogative, which empowered the crown to issue such writs, was abolished, and its exercise almost entirely discontinued from the time of Edward III.; and all the authority which remained, or was afterward exercised, was to press ships into the public service, to be paid for by the public. How wide

were these precedents from a power of arbitrarily obliging the people at their own charge to build new ships, to victual and pay them for the public; nay, to furnish money to the crown for that purpose! What security either against the farther extension of this claim, or against employing to other purposes the public money so levied! The plea of necessity would warrant any other taxation, as well as that of ship-money; and it was difficult to conceive the kingdom in a situation, where that plea could be urged with less plausibility than at present. And if such maxims and such practices prevail, what has become of national liberty! What authority is left to the Great Charter, to the statutes, and to that very Petition of Right, which in the present reign had been so solemnly enacted by the concurrence of the whole legislature!

Upon this subject the Commons in the Long Parliament, after considerable debate, on December 7, 1640, passed four several votes, without so much as one negative voice to one of them:

1. That the charge imposed upon the subjects for the providing and furnishing of ships, and the assessments for raising money for that purpose, commonly called ‘Ship-money;’

2. The extra-judicial opinions of the Judges, published in the Star-Chamber and enrolled in the courts at Westminster, upon the case as stated by the King, in the whole and every part of them;

3. The writ founded upon them, and addressed to the Boroughs, &c. in Buckinghamshire, and the other writs commonly called the ‘Ship-writs;’

4. The judgement in the Exchequer in Mr. Hampden’s case in the matter and substance thereof,

and in that it was conceived Mr. Hampden was any way chargeable—are all against the laws of the realm, the right of property, and the liberty of the subjects, and contrary to former resolutions in parliament, and to the Petition of Right.

These votes they transmitted to the Lords, who, agreeing *nomine contradicente* in the three last, ordered the Record in the Exchequer, and the several Rolls in each several court of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, and Star-Chamber Chancery to be produced, a *Vacat* to be made of them in the Upper House, and all the Rolls to be rased across with a pen, and subscribed with the clerk of the parliament's hand: all which was, accordingly, done in open court.

After this trial, he took the lead among his party in opposition to the court, and on the meeting of the Long Parliament in November 1640, in which he sate as member for Bucks,* he extended his patriotic care to Scotland, by watching all the royal motions in that kingdom. By this conduct he gave such general satisfaction, that in all the transactions between the two nations he was constantly appointed one of the Commissioners to treat with that people. He was nominated, likewise, by parliament one of the Committee to prepare the charge against the Earl of Strafford, and a manager of the evidence upon that occasion; a function, which he also discharged in the prosecution of Archbishop Laud. From the historians of those times it appears, that a plan was set on foot after the fall of these two great men, to

* He had represented that county in the parliament summoned the preceding April.

form a coalition of parties by conferring some of the most important offices of state upon the chief persons in opposition: in which case Hampden, both on account of his literary talents and the purity of his character, was proposed as tutor to Prince Charles. His laudable views in accepting this weighty charge, in preference to the more splendid appointments which he might have commanded, are thus conjectured by Mrs. Macaulay; "While there were any hopes," she observes, "that the administration of the country could be corrected without the entire overthrow of the constitution, Hampden chose before other preferment the superintendency of the Prince's mind, aiming to correct the source whence the happiness or misfortunes of the empire, if the government continued monarchical, must flow. But the aversion, which the King discovered to those regulations which were necessary to secure the constitution from any future attempts of the crown, with the schemes he had entered on to punish the authors of reformation and to rescind his concessions, determined the conduct of Hampden." The project passed off; and he was one of the five* Commons, whom with Lord Kimbolton the King in 1642 imprudently accused of high-treason, and attempted in person to seize while sitting in the house.

As soon as the parliament ordered an army to be raised for the defence of the state against the hostile preparations of its monarch, Hampden accepted the command of a regiment of foot, under the Earl of Essex their General; and he was one of the first, who opened the civil war, by an attack upon a place called

* The other four were Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hollis, Pym, and Strode.

Brill, about five miles from Oxford, where the King had stationed some troops in garrison. The abilities, which he had displayed in the senate, he now seemed likely to exhibit in the field: but his career of glory was speedily terminated; for to the deep grief of his party he was mortally wounded in a skirmish with Prince Rupert at Chalgrove Field,* near Thame in Oxfordshire, in 1643, falling a victim to his own incautious valour. In his eagerness to engage, he had thrown himself among the cavalry who were first ready, as a volunteer; and when the Prince faced about, though all the other officers were of opinion to halt till their main body came up, he urged them to advance, and thus precipitately rushed on his fate. The first news of his being wounded the royalists received, with loud exultation, from one of the prisoners taken in the action, who said, 'he was confident Colonel Hampden was hurt; for he saw him, contrary to his usual custom, ride off the field before the action was over, his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck.' The following day it was known, that he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken.† For six days, he laboured under extreme

* The very place, as Clarendon after others observes, "in which he first animated the advance of the militia, and engaged that county, where his reputation was very great, in this rebellion: so violently (it was remarked at the time) did his fate carry him to pay the mulct in the place, where he had committed the transgression about a year before!"

† The manner of his death, however (says Chalmers) has never been accurately ascertained; some persons supposing, that he was killed by the bursting of one of his own pistols. See Noble's 'Memoirs of Cromwell,' II. 70., where there is a long account of his family and descendents.

anguish; and during this time it is said that the King, greatly to his credit, sent Dr. Chinner his own physician to visit him, and to make him an offer of the assistance of his surgeons. On the twenty-fourth of June, 1643, this illustrious patriot expired, at a period when his life was of the utmost national consequence; it being judged from his natural disposition, and the integrity of his heart, that he would have opposed the usurpation of the Protector with as much fortitude, as he had withstood the encroachments of Charles. It is probable, had he lived, that the parliament (dissatisfied with Essex's conduct) would have promoted him to the generalship; and, as he was never known to exercise any authority otherwise than for the public welfare, he would naturally have kept Cromwell's ambitious spirit within proper bounds.

His remains were interred in the church of Great Hampden in Buckinghamshire, where a stone was laid over his grave with the effigies of himself, his wife, and ten children.

His eldest son Richard succeeded to his seat in the House of Commons, and distinguished himself in it as a zealous friend to the same cause in which his father died. His grandson, John, likewise served in parliament; three of his daughters were married to respectable gentlemen in the same line of political connexions with himself, and holding public employments under the authority of the Long Parliament; and the same parliament, as a testimony of its sense of his merits, ordered the sum of five thousand pounds to be paid out of the national revenues for the use of his family.

“ Mr. Hampden,” says Clarendon, ‘ was a man of much greater cunning, and it may be, of the most discerning spirit, and of the greatest address and insinuation to bring any thing to pass which he desired, of any man of that time, and who laid the design deepest. He was not a man of many words, and rarely begun the discourse, or made the first entrance upon any business that was assumed; but a very weighty speaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and observed how the House was like to be inclined, took up the argument, and shortly and clearly and craftily so stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the conclusion he desired: and if he found that he could not do that, he was never without the dexterity to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent the determining any thing in the negative, which might prove inconvenient in the future. He made so great a show of civility and modesty and humility, and always of mistrusting his own judgement, and esteeming his with whom he conferred for the present, that he seemed to have no opinions or resolutions, but such as he contracted from the information and instruction he received upon the discourses of others; whom he had a wonderful art of governing, and leading into his principles and inclinations, while they believed that he wholly depended upon their counsel and advice. No man had ever a greater power over himself, or was less the man that he seemed to be: which shortly after appeared to every body, when he cared less to keep on the mask.’

And again:

‘ He was of a most civil and affable deportment

In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himself all the licence in sports and exercises and company, which were used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterward he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society, yet preserving his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all men: though they, who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the church, yet most believed it rather a dislike to some churchmen, and of some introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse or fame in the kingdom, before the business of Ship-Money; but then he grew the argument of all tongues. every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst at his own charge support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the judgement, that was given against him, infinitely more advanced him, than the service for which it was given. When this parliament begun (being returned Knight of the shire for the county where he lived) the eyes of all men were fixed upon him as their *Patric Pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his power and interest at that time was greater to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any

man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

‘He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgement, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtile a way of interrogating, and under the notion of doubts insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. And even with them, who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person. He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the parliament, he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humours, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned men plainly discerned, that that moderation proceeded from prudence and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation; and that he begot many opinions and motions, the education whereof he committed to other men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded: and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, he would with-

draw himself before the question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his integrity. What combination soever (he adds) had been originally with the Scots for the invasion of England, and what farther was entered into afterward in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the government in parliament, no man doubts was at least with the privity of this gentleman.

‘ After he was among those members accused by the King of high-treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer, than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his sword, he threw away his scabbard: for he passionately opposed the overture made by the King for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently all expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on, to prevent any infusions which might be made into the Earl of Essex toward peace, or to render them ineffectual if they were made; and was, indeed, much more relied on by that party, than the General himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel upon all occasions most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men’s. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by labours, and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtile and sharp, and of a personal courage equal to his best parts: so that he was an enemy not to be wished,

wherever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less pleasing to the one party, than it was condoled in the other. In a word, what was said of Cinna might well be applied to him: 'he had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief,' or (as the noble historian elsewhere observes) any good.'

This character, as Mrs. Macaulay observes, though marked with it's great writer's natural partiality, is the testimony of an enemy to virtues possessed only by the foremost rank of men. With all the talents and virtues which render private life useful, amiable, and respectable were united in Hampden in the highest degree those excellences, which guide the jarring opinions of popular counsels to determined points; and, while he penetrated into the most secret designs of other men, he never discovered more of his own inclinations than was necessary to the purpose in hand. In debate he was so much a master, that joining the art of Socrates with the graces of Cicero, he fixed his own opinion under the modest guise of desiring to improve by that of others; and contrary to the nature of disputes left a pleasing impression, which prejudiced his antagonist in his favour, even when he had not convinced or altered his judgement. His carriage was so generally, uniformly, and unaffectedly affable, his conversation so enlivened by his vivacity, so seasoned by his knowledge and understanding, and so well applied to the genius, humour, and prejudices of those he conversed with, that his talents to gain popularity were absolute. With qualities of this high nature,

he possessed in council penetration and discernment, with a sagacity on which no one could impose, an industry and vigilance which were indefatigable, with the entire mastery of his passions and affections; an advantage, which gave him infinite superiority over less regulated minds.—It was him the party relied on, to animate the cold counsels of their general; it was his example and influence they trusted to keep him honest to the interest of the public, and to preserve to the parliament the affections of the army. Had he been at first appointed to the supreme military command, the civil war, under all the horrors of which the country languished more than three years, would have been but of a short continuance.’

“That he had any intentions properly mischievous,” remarks Chalmers, “is rendered incredible, as well by the acknowledged excellence of his moral character, as by the large stake he possessed in his country. It is true, he was one of those, whose ideas of reform went beyond the moderate restriction of the royal authority, which might have been the justest and safest course; and he is, politically, chargeable with contributing to the overthrow of the existing constitution. But there were, confessedly, good men in the extremes of both parties; and the judgement of his country has placed Hampden in that list of genuine patriots, which is its highest boast.”

WILLIAM LAUD,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.*

[1573—1645.]

WILLIAM LAUD, son of William Laud, a clothier of Reading in Berkshire, by Lucia his wife (widow of Mr. John Robinson of Reading, and sister to Sir William Webb, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1591) was born at Reading in 1573, and educated in the free school of that place. In July, 1589, he removed to Oxford; and in the June following became scholar of St. John's College, under the tuition of Dr. John Buckeridge. In 1593, he was elected Fellow; the year ensuing, he took the degree of B. A., and in 1598 that of M. A., being also chosen Grammar Lecturer for that year. At this time, as Wood informs us, "he was esteemed by all those that knew him, a very forward, confident, and zealous person." In 1600 he was ordained Deacon, and Priest in 1601, by Dr. Young, Bishop of Rochester.

In 1602, he read in his College the Divinity Lecture, which was supported by the benefaction

* **Authorities.** Heylin's *Life of Laud*, Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and *British Biography*.

of Mrs. Maye. In this and other academical exercises, he discovered his talents for controversy, by maintaining ‘the constant visibility of the Church of Christ, derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that Church till the Reformation.’ This opinion involved him in a dispute with Dr. Abbot, at that time Master of University College, and Vice-Chancellor,* which led to their mutual dislike of each other throughout the rest of their lives.

In 1603, he was chosen Proctor of the University,† and became Chaplain to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire; and, in 1604, he took the degree of B. D. In his exercise performed upon this occasion, he maintained two points: 1. That baptism was necessary; ‡ and, 2. That there could be no true church without diocesan bishops. These tenets, like that of the ‘constant visibility of the church,’ were levelled at the Puritans; and he was in consequence of them attacked by Dr. Holland, at that time Divi-

* Abbot traced it, on the contrary, from the Berengarians through the Albigenes, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites to Luther and Calvin. (See Specimens subjoined to the Life of Abbot.)

† His colleague in office, Mr. Christopher Dale of Merton College (as stated in a ‘Collection of Anecdotes and Jests,’ printed in 1751 from Antony Wood’s own MSS. papers) was a very severe man in his office, and thereby got hatred of many: Laud was a very little person in body, but civil and moderate. Whereupon Dale, when he made a speech in convocation at the giving up of his office, was hissed and hooted at by the undergraduates not only there, but in his way home; and it was said by one of Merton College, that “he was proctor *cum parvâ Laude*.”

‡ Upon this subject, it was alleged, that ‘the greatest part of what he had said was borrowed, or stolen, from the works of Cardinal Bellarmine.’

nity Professor, as aiming to sow division between the Church of England and the Reformed Churches abroad. Henceforward, his opinions rendered him obnoxious to moderate men; and Abbot without hesitation proclaimed him, if not actually a Papist, so popishly inclined, that (as Heylin affirms) 'it was made almost a heresy for any one to be seen in his company, and a misprision of heresy to give him a civil salutation as he passed the streets.'

In 1605, he imprudently married his patron the Earl of Devonshire to Penelope, wife of Robert Lord Rich, who had been divorced from her husband for adultery; and the match naturally turning out unfortunate, he incurred severe censures: the King himself for some years, notwithstanding the intercession of Williams (Bishop of Lincoln, and afterward Archbishop of York and Lord Keeper) refusing to promote him in the church. He sincerely repented, however, of his conduct in this transaction, and kept a fast on the anniversary of the wedding-day ever afterward.

A discourse delivered by Laud before the heads of the University at St. Mary's, in 1606, increased the number of his enemies: and his treatment of the public lecturers, who did not hold the same high-church sentiments with himself, made him at once hated and feared; as he conveyed reports through the Bishop of Durham to the King, against all who favoured the doctrines or the discipline of the Puritans. But his learning and address, notwithstanding these obstacles, procured him many powerful friends. In 1607, he obtained the vicarage of Stanford in Northamptonshire; and the year following he was appointed Chaplain to Dr. Neale, then Bishop of

Rochester, presented to North Kilworth in Leicestershire, and created D.D. He preached his first sermon before the King, at Theobalds, in 1609; and giving up his Leicestershire living for that of West-Tilbury in Essex, was the year following presented by his Right Reverend patron to the Rectory of Cuckstone in Kent. Finding the air of this latter place, however, prejudicial to his health, he exchanged it for the benefice of Norton in the same county.

About the end of the year 1610, Dr. Buckeridge being promoted to the see of Rochester on the translation of Neale to that of Litchfield and Coventry, Abbot, who had recently become Primate, preferred a complaint against Laud to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere (who was, also, Chancellor of the University) alleging that ‘he was a Papist in his heart.’ This was done, though without success, in order to prevent his succeeding Dr. Buckeridge in the presidency of his College. In 1611, he was sworn one of the King’s Chaplains. In 1614 Neale, then Bishop of Lincoln, bestowed upon him the prebend of Bugden, and soon afterward the archdeaconry of Huntingdon. In 1616, he was advanced to the deanery of Gloucester; a dignity, which though it was of no great value,* established his reputation as a rising man in the church, after he had been long deemed one, whom the King was disinclined to favour. His Majesty, on this appointment, desired Laud to ‘set in order whatever he should find amiss in the cathedral:’ upon which, he

* Heylin.

immediately ordered the whole edifice to be repaired and beautified; and calling a chapter, removed the Communion-Table, then standing in the middle of the church, to the east-end of the choir. He, likewise, strongly recommended to the cathedral-clergy that they should bow, in token of reverence to God, not only at their first entrance into the choir, but likewise on their approach to the Holy Table. These alterations gave great offence to many, particularly to Dr. Miles Smith, Bishop of the see, who after the transfer recommended never entered the church.

As a farther testimony of royal favour, he was ordered to attend his Majesty in his journey to Scotland, in 1617. He, likewise, procured instructions to be sent to Oxford, for the better government of that University. The design of the northern progress was, to bring the Kirk of Scotland to an uniformity with the English Church; a favourite scheme with Laud, and some other divines. But “the Scots were Scots,” as Dr. Heylin observes, “and resolved to go on in their own way, whatever came of it;” so that neither the King, nor his clerical companion, gained any credit by their expensive journey.

Upon his return from Scotland, he again exchanged preferments, receiving in return for Norton the rectory of Ibstock in Leicestershire: and in 1620, he was installed Prebendary of Westminster, in conformity to a promise made ten years before by his Majesty to Bishop Neale. In 1621, the King nominated him to the bishopric of St. David's. With this he was permitted to hold his prebend in *commendam*, through the interest of the Lord Keeper Williams, who, to increase his small income, gave

him a benefice of 150*l.* *per ann.* in his new diocese. In the following year, James farther bestowed upon him the rectory of Creeke in Northamptonshire.

About this time, his Majesty issued some directions concerning preachers and preaching, in which he prohibited the discussion of the doctrines of predestination, election, irresistibility of divine grace, &c. These directions were levelled against the Puritans, and as Laud was suspected of having superintended at least, if not suggested, their composition, he provoked against himself a new host of enemies among persons of that description.

The same year, likewise, he held his celebrated Conference with Fisher the Jesuit in the presence of the Marquis of Buckingham and his mother, in order to confirm their wavering judgement in the Protestant Faith; and he gained his object. This Conference afforded a striking proof of the superiority of his genius and learning; and its immediate consequence was, an intimacy with the Marquis, to whom (it is said) he became subsequently too subservient.* But the patronage of that nobleman, who during his absence in Spain had left him his agent at court, and regularly corresponded with him, excited the jealousy of the Lord Keeper, and from a warm friend converted him into a bitter enemy.† Archbishop Abbot likewise,

* Roger Coke calls him ‘Vicegerent to Buckingham,’ with whom (while in France) ‘e is said to have corresponded on the subject of the Princess Henrietta Maria; and adds, that “these two stopped up both the King’s ears from any other doctrine in church or state, out what was infused by themselves.”

† Laud, it appears, reported to his principal, that ‘Williams could not suppress his discontent at that ill-advised journey.’

having resolved to check his aspiring disposition, left him out of the list of members constituting the High-Commission Court, a tribunal instituted to take cognisance of all ecclesiastical matters: but, Laud complaining of this indignity to Buckingham, his name was inserted in 1624.

His credit with the minister was now firmly rooted; and he began to show it, by acts of authority, on the accession of Charles I. For that Monarch wishing to regulate the number of his Chaplains, and to appoint those only whose religious principles he could fully approve, requested Laud to draw out a catalogue of the most eminent divines in the kingdom, placing opposite to each name the letter O for Orthodox, or P for Puritan. The latter mark being considered as a barrier against promotion, Laud was thus virtually invested with the entire power of recommending the inferior clergy to the royal notice.

Ingratitude was assuredly of the number of his vices, for he lent his assistance to accomplish the dismissal of the Lord Keeper from his office; though he had received from him at his outset, as above stated, most important marks of favour.* In 1626.

This circumstance, to which the Lord Keeper attributed his subsequent disgrace, brought on a settled hostility between the two Prelates; Williams but too justly accusing Laud of unpardonable ingratitude, and Laud feeling all the rancour too often connected with the consciousness of having inflicted an injury, which prompted Tacitus' *Odisse quem leseris*.

* Among other insults offered to his early patron, Laud prevailed upon Buckingham to procure for him the honour of officiating at the coronation of Charles, in the room of Williams, whose office it was as Dean of Westminster to administer the coronation-oath. Upon this occasion, he has been charged (but without sufficient evidence) with having altered the terms of that

he was translated to the see of Bath and Wells, made a Privy Councillor, and appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal. He was, likewise, appointed one of the Commissioners for exercising archiepiscopal jurisdiction upon Abbot's sequestration in the year 1627, and by his advice the King was now almost entirely governed in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments.

In the third parliament of Charles' reign, he was voted to be one of the favourers of Arminianism, and specified by name, in the remonstrance of the Commons, as 'suspected of holding unsound opinions.' He was charged, also, with having framed the royal speeches, and Buckingham's answer to the articles of impeachment preferred against him; and in consequence became so unpopular that his life was menaced, in anonymous papers thrown into the courtyard of his house in London. Yet this had no effect upon his advancement; for, in 1628, he was translated to the see of London. He was, likewise, appointed a Commissioner for levying money by certain inland duties, called by the Commons 'an excise.' This nomination increased the fury of the populace against him; though the plan was never carried into execution. Upon the assassination of Buckingham his grief was so immoderate, that he even threatened Felton with the rack, in order to extort from him a confession of his accomplices: and though Felton sensibly ob-

oath. The accusation probably took its rise from his having introduced, in the course of the ceremony, an artful address to the King in behalf of the clergy, exhorting his Majesty to 'show more favour to that order than to the rest of his subjects, because they place the crown upon his head, and approach nearer to the altar than others!'

served in reply, ‘ that the extremity of torture might perhaps force him to name even Laud himself,’ he persisted in his cruel design, till the Judges gave it as their opinion, ‘ that by the laws of England the rack could not be resorted to.’ He was convinced to the last, it is affirmed, that some of the members of parliament, or of the Puritans, were privy to the murder.

Laud now supplied Buckingham’s place in the King’s confidence; and became extremely active in the High-Commission Court, in which such arbitrary prosecutions* were carried on, that the nation was for a time divided between fear and indignation.

* Of the injustice of the decrees of this court, the following is a striking instance: Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, had published ‘ An Appeal to the Parliament; or, Zion’s Plea against Prelacy:’ in which he had written, with considerable asperity, against the Bishops and the Hierarchy. For this publication, he was brought before the High-Commission Court, June 4, 1630. He acknowledged himself to be the author of the book, but alleged that ‘ his design was only to lay those things before the next parliament for their consideration.’ The court, however, passed the following sentence:

‘ That the Doctor should pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and be degraded from his ministry; that he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster while the court was sitting, and be there whipped; after which he should be set upon the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with S. S. as a ‘ Sower of Sedition;’ that then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days be pilloried a second time, and be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off; and finally be shut up in the prison of the Fleet for the remainder of his life.’ When this savage decree was pronounced, Laud pulled off his cap, and gave God thanks for it. These punishments, as history informs us, were executed with

Upon his election to the chancellorship of Oxford

a degree of cruelty, which is horrible in the narration ; and their victim afterward continued in close confinement for ten years, till he was set at liberty by the Long Parliament : when his sufferings had so impaired his health, that upon his release he could hardly either walk, see, or hear. This transaction, as well as many others in which Laud was concerned, sufficiently evinces the justice of Clarendon's remark, that " he intended the discipline of the Church should be felt, as well as spoken of."

The reader will thank me for inserting in this place a brilliant passage upon the subject before us from the Rev. Dr. Symmons' *Life of Milton*, pp. 218—224. (2d edit.) " The Church of England, at this unfortunate crisis (1641) could boast among her prelates of a Williams, a Davenant, a Hall, and an Usher ; men illustrious for their talents, eminent by their learning, amiable for their virtues, and venerable for their piety : but unhappily at their head was placed a prelate, whose views were narrow, whose superstition was abject and intolerant, and who was pleased to be the supporter of that despotism which supported his own.

" Much as I dislike the principles and the temper of the unfortunate Laud, I would willingly believe that the conduct, which produced such ruinous consequences to his cause and to the whole community, was the offspring of good motives ; and that he intended well as a Christian, though he acted perniciously as a politician. For his bigoted observance of ceremonies he could plead the example of some of his most eminent predecessors ; and at any other period than that in which he lived, when it was considered and was perhaps designed as a conciliatory advance to the Roman church, this observance would have been an innocent, if not an inoffensive, display of littleness. His support of an arbitrary court is as easily to be pardoned by the liberal and comprehensive mind, which can allow for the effects of education, or for the natural (and, of course, venial) corruption of office, and its influence on the understanding and the heart. But when I see him confounding the cause of Christ with that of the prelate ; when I observe him persecuting with merciless rigour men of exemplary lives, united with him in every point of Christian faith, and whose sole crime

in 1630, Laud made it his business during the re-

was a conscientious opposition to the hierarchal dignity, and a regard to what they deemed to be the simplicity of the Gospel; when I contemplate him on the judgement-seat uncovering his head, and thanking God on the passing of a cruel sentence which he had himself dictated; when I see him afterward in his closet recording, with calm rancour and cold-blooded exultation, the execution of these judicial barbarities; when I behold him insulting the age of the mild and liberal Abbot, and spurning him from his throne to obtain premature possession of the metropolitan power; when I behold him ruining, with vengeance as ungrateful as it was unrelenting, the first patron of his fortunes Bishop Williams, whose hand had placed the mitre on his head—my charity must necessarily falter, and I cannot immediately decide that he stands accountable for nothing more than erroneous judgement. He wished, indeed, for the prosperity of the Church, but only as it was blended with the splendor of the Hierarchy; and he laboured for it's aggrandisement, as Philip laboured for that of Macedon, or Frederic for that of Prussia, that it might form the broader and more elevated pedestal to his own individual greatness. The Archbishop, however, and the Monarchs pursued their objects with very different degrees of wisdom, and consequently of success: for while the measures of the latter were conducted to a prosperous issue by prudence and conciliation, as the means of power, those of the former were led to disappointment by rashness and irritation, in their common characters as the causes of unpopularity and weakness. By the Prelate's conduct his party was covered with odium; and it was deserted by the wise who foresaw it's approaching ruin, and by the moderate who were disgusted with it's tyranny.

“I am strongly attached (adds this enlightened biographer—for I cannot help introducing the succeeding paragraph) to the Church of England, from whose lap I sprang, and at whose bosom I have been fostered: but my attachment to her is that not of instinct, but of reason. I love her, not merely because she is my mother and my nurse, but because she is deserving of my love. I regard her, as she offers to God a spiritual worship, yet condescends to the imperfect nature of the worshipper; and keeps as remote from the rude and unsightly devotion of Calvin,

mainder of his life to adorn that University with

as from the childish and idolatrous mummary of Rome: I respect her, as she extends her usefulness by accommodating her ranks to those of the community in which she is established; and, while she contributes to the social harmony by her enforcement of it's requisite subordination, considers man upon a level when she officiates as the minister of God. But I give to her my most ardent affection, when I contemplate her as mild and liberal, as uniting order with toleration, as the patroness of learning and the encourager of inquiry, as the determined enemy of persecution for opinions, whether it be avowed by the stern republicanism of a presbytery or by the unfeeling policy of a pontifical conclave. Such is the ground, on which I rest my affection to my native church: but if I saw her actuated by a narrow and ferocious spirit, guarding her own temporal honours with more jealousy than the vital principles of Christ's religion, doing evil with the flagitious pretence that good may be the result, mounted on a sanguinary tribunal to suppress opinion with overwhelming punishment, and hearing with delight the groan that issued from a bosom hostile to herself—if I saw her in this sad state of defection from her own character, and of apostasy from the religion of her Master, I should no longer recognise her as the object of my filial reverence: I would renounce her with indignation; and throwing her disgraceful favours at her feet I would retire, beyond her corruption and her vengeance, to some uncivilised region where I might vindicate the name of Jesus from her impious profanation, and show him to be the author of blessings, not of misery, to man."

Dr. Dumoulin, some time History Professor at Oxford, in his 'Account of the several Advances the Church of England hath made toward Rome,' 4to. 1680, observes:

"Joseph Hall, one of the bishops that did most vigorously oppose not only the design of Laud, &c. of introducing the doctrines and ceremonies of Rome both in the Church and Universities, but also that spirit of persecution that animated him against the Non-conformists, expresses himself in a letter he writ above threescore years ago in this manner to Laud, before he was Dean or Bishop; and when, being at Oxford, he made his furious heat appear against the Puritans, and was a great in-

buildings, and to enrich it with valuable manuscripts and other books.* He, also, caused it's jarring and

novator, and testified a kindness for the doctrine and ceremonies of Rome:

Decad 3. Epist. 5. 'To William Laud, expostulating the cause of his unsettledness in religion, &c.

'I would I knew where to find you, then I could tell how to take a direct aim, whereas now I must rove and conjecture: to-day you are in the tents of the Romanists, to-morrow in ours, the next day between both, against both. Our adversaries think you ours, we theirs: your conscience finds you with both, and neither. I flatter you not; this of yours is the worst of all tempers: heat and cold have their uses, lukewarmness is good for nothing but to trouble the stomach. Those, that are spiritually hot, find acceptance; those, that are stark cold, have a lesser reckoning: the mean between both is so much the worse, as it comes nearer to good and attains it not. How long will you halt in this indifferency? Resolve one way, and know at last what you do hold, what you should cast off, either your wings or your teeth; and, loathing this bat-like nature, be either a bird or a beast. To die wavering and uncertain, yourself will grant fearful. If you must settle, when begin you? If you must begin, why not now? 'Tis dangerous deferring that, whose want is deadly, and whose opportunity is doubtful. Is there any impediment, which delay will abate? Is there any, which a just answer cannot remove? If you had rather waver, who can settle you? But, if you love not inconstancy, tell us why you stagger: be plain, or else you will never be firm." And yet in his 'Discourse of Medals' Evelyn, who says he was at Rome when the news of Laud's sufferings arrived there, informs us "our English Fathers (as they call them) and clergy of that Church read and commented upon the intelligence with exceeding satisfaction and contempt, as of one taken off, who was an enemy to them and stood in their way; while one of the most capital crimes imputed to him here was, his being popishly affected!"

* Of MSS. he gave 1,300 in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Egyptian, Ethiopian, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Saxon, English, and Irish; an invaluable collection, procured

imperfect statutes to be revised, collated, and thrown into regular order; and he considerably enlarged and improved St. John's College, where he had received his education.

In his professional capacity, it seems to have been his chief employment to take care of the externals of religion, and to approximate the Church of England to that of Rome. For this purpose, being now almost absolute in ecclesiastical concerns, and having a great share in the administration of the civil government, he peremptorily enjoined a strict conformity to all the rites and ceremonies of divine worship. He caused the churches in general to be ornamented with pictures and images, and the Communion-Tables in each to be railed in at the east-end, and denominated 'Altars.' Kneeling at these altars, and the use of copes,* were also rigorously enforced. Such observances were generally regarded as so many

at a prodigious expense. Fortunately for the Arabic lectureship which he founded, and left to the patronage of the Lord Almoner, he charged it's stipend (40*l. per ann.*) upon an estate of his in the parish of Bray, Bucks, called 'Budd's Pastures,' which was settled on the University for that purpose. He, perhaps, recollected the fate of his predecessor Wolsey's foundations, which in consequence of not having been endowed by deed perished with him. Even this estate, upon Laud's death, was seized by the sequestrators; but through the exertions of Pococke the first Professor (upon whose death in 1691 Edmund Smith, under the constraint of his 'well-set large-limbed' friend Mr. Story, wrote the beautiful ode '*Pocockius*' so highly commended by Johnson in his '*Life of Smith*,' and it's ludicrous analysis printed at the end of the same biography) and by the interest of Selden, it was again restored.

* An embroidered vestment thrown over the shoulders of the priest, when administering the sacrament.

advances toward the re-introduction of Popery, and Laud was of course universally detested. But, regardless of popular clamor, he proceeded still farther in the consecration of the church of St. Catherine Cree in London. This edifice had only been repaired; yet Laud suspended all public worship in it, till it had been re-consecrated, and performed this service with nearly as much pomp as is used by the Pope, when he opens the holy gate of St. Peter and proclaims a jubilee.*

In 1631, he was extremely active in causing St. Paul's Cathedral to be repaired and beautified in a magnificent manner; for which purpose, contributions were levied throughout England. Subscriptions falling short, he adopted several illegal methods of raising money: prosecutions, involving the penalty of fines, were carried on with great rigour in the Courts of Star-Chamber and High-Commission: compositions were likewise made with Popish recusants, and commutations of penance were countenanced; so that the nation exclaimed, "St. Paul's is repaired with the sins of the people!" About this time likewise, it is said, he made proposals to the King at Woodstock, to prohibit the marriages of the clergy; and openly announced, that 'he would bestow all his ecclesiastical preferments upon single men, in preference to the married, provided their abilities were equal.' But this declaration exposed him to such severe censures, that he found himself obliged virtually to retract it, by negotiating a marriage between one of his Chaplains and the daughter of Mr. (after-

* For the detail of his proceedings upon this occasion, the reader is referred to Hume's, 'History of Great-Britain,' chap. 52.

ward Sir Francis) Windebank, and performing the ceremony himself in his private chapel in London.

In 1633, he attended Charles I. to Scotland, on the same errand upon which he had formerly accompanied his predecessor ; * with this difference however, that being now armed with more authority, he urged the union of the two Churches with increased zeal. But the Scottish bishops firmly declined the use of the English Liturgy, and drew up one with material alterations for themselves.

Having in vain endeavoured to supplant Abbot in the primacy, he at length succeeded him. On his arrival at court from the North, he was saluted by his Majesty with the gratifying address : “ My Lord’s Grace of Canterbury, you are welcome : ” and, the same day, orders were issued for the despatch of the necessary instruments. In the interval, an emissary from Rome visited him at Greenwich with the offer of a Cardinal’s hat ; but the Archbishop refused, alleging for a reason (as recorded in his own Diary) “ that somewhat dwelt within him, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is.” † About

* He, also, witnessed his coronation by Archbishop Spottiswood in the abbey-church of Holyrood House. During his stay in Scotland, he preached in the Royal Chapel, which scarcely any Englishman had previously done in the King’s presence, on the benefits of conformity and the use of ceremonies, his favourite objects ; and, before his departure, he was sworn a Privy Counsellor for that kingdom.

† Whitelock assigns, as his motive for declining it, that “ he was as high already as England could advance him, and he would not be second to any in another kingdom.” But this subject deserves a little farther notice. In 1648 Thomas Gage, formerly, as he himself states in the title-page of his Recantation Sermon (preached in 1642, and dedicated to the Right Hon. Isaac Pen-

the same time, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Dublin.

nington, Lord Mayor of the City of London) "a Romish Priest for the space of thirty-eight years, and now truly reconciled to the Church of England," published his 'New Survey of the West-Indies.' In the 8vo. edition of this work published after the Restoration, one entire chapter (the xxii. and last) was "unfairly dropt without any notice of the omission, or any pretence that the facts contained in it could be disproved. This chapter therefore was reprinted in a small tract (now scarce) in 1712, with an Advertisement, of which the following is an extract:—

'Indeed the matters related herein do so nearly affect the character of Archbishop Laud, the great darling of a clamorous and violent party, that one needs not long doubt from what quarter, or from what motives, this fraudulent device had it's rise. We know, who have no mind that such things as these should be believed, or longer remembered. It is well if the same party-zeal, which can thus main and deface one history, has not added as much to others from it's own invention. Who knows, how far their *Index Expurgatorius* extends? If such a noted modern history, as Mr. Gage's 'Survey,' &c. could in so very few years time suffer such an injury, and that deceit pass almost wholly unobserved, what work may we suspect has been made with older books, which are not fallen into honester hands?

'If Mr. Gage was worthy of credit in the rest of his History, why not also in this, which relates to Bishop Laud? Whether the testimonies added at the end of the Archbishop's life by Mr. Wharton, to prove that the Church of Rome accounted him one of her greatest enemies, will answer in weight to the argument and testimony in Mr. Gage's History on the other side, shall be left to the candid reader's judgement. But whatever some Papists might say to a Protestant stranger, and that too after the Bishop's death, when to have him thought a dear friend to the Romish Hierarchy might be of no service to their interest, one must be apt to think that Mr. Gage being intimate among them at Rome, as one of their own priests and friars, was most likely to learn what their real and undisguised sentiments of Bishop Laud were. It is not pretended, that he approved of the doctrinal articles of that church: but it is possible that one

Early in the year 1634, upon the death of Weston Earl of Portland, Lord High Treasurer, Laud was

dislikes many points of the Romish Faith, may yet be very fond of introducing her tyrannical government, and in order to it, of amusing the poor laity with the long train of her gaudy and mysterious ceremonies; that while they stand fondly gazing at this lure and are busied about impertinences, they may the more easily be circumvented into irrecoverable bondage by men of deeper but more mischievous designs.

—‘When I came to Rome,’ observes Mr. Gage himself, ‘I delivered my letters to the Cardinals, of whom the two Spaniards (Cucua and Albornos) I found proud and stately, but Don Francisco Barbarini, who was entitled ‘the Protector of England,’ I found more tractable, kind, and loving. I perceived by his discourse, that he knew much of England, and desired to know more; and propounded to me many questions concerning the state of this kingdom, and especially concerning the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he seemed to affect, and yet sometime again would say ‘he feared he would cause some great disturbance in our kingdom; and that certainly for his sake, and by his means, the King had dissolved lately the parliament (which was that, which before this now sitting was so suddenly dissolved by his Majesty) which he feared Scotland, and most of the people of England, would take very ill.’ He asked me farther, ‘what conceit the people had of the late Archbishop, and whether they did not mistrust that he complied with the court of Rome?’ And, lastly, he told me, that ‘he thought the creating of an English Cardinal at Rome might be of great consequence for the conversion of the whole kingdom.’ I laid up in my heart all this discourse, and well perceived some great matters were in agitation at Rome, and some secret compliance from England with that court, which I purposed to discover more at large among some friends there.

‘After this discourse with the Cardinal, I was invited to the English college to dinner by one Father Fitzherbert, who was then rector, a great statesman and politician; with whom I had also great discourse concerning my brother Colonel Gage, concerning my travels in America, and lastly concerning England; whereof I perceived little discourse could be had in Rome, except the Archbishop William Laud had his part and share in it

appointed one of the Commissioners of the Exchequer, his friend Juxon, Bishop of London, by his re-

The Jesuit began highly to praise the Arch-prelate for his moderate carriage toward Papists and Priests; boasting of the free access which one Simons, alias Flood, a Jesuit, had unto him at all hours and in all occasions: and to extol him the more, he brought in the Archbishop Abbot, whom he cried down as much for a cruel enemy and persecutor of the Church of Rome, and of all Papists and Priests. But "the now Archbishop," said he, "is not only favourable to us there, but here desireth to make daily demonstrations of his great affection to this our court and church, which he showed not long since in sending a Common Prayer-Book (which he had composed for the church of Scotland) to be first viewed and approved of by our Pope and Cardinals; who, perusing it, liked it very well for Protestants to be trained in a form of prayer and service: yet considering the state of Scotland, and the temper and tenets of the people, the Cardinals (first giving him thanks for his respect, and dutiful compliance with them) sent him word, that 'they thought that Form of Prayer was not fitting for Scotland, but would breed some stir and unquietness there: for that they understood the Scots were averse from all set forms, and would not be tied and limited to the invention of man's spirit, having (as they thought) the true and unerring spirit of God in them, which could better teach and direct them to pray.' All this (saith Father Fitzherbert) I was witness of, who was then sent for by the Cardinals, as in all like occasions and affairs concerning England, to give them my opinion concerning the said Common Prayer-Book and the temper of the Scots. But the good Archbishop (quoth he) hearing the censure of the Cardinals concerning his intention and Form of Prayer, to ingratiate himself the more in their favour, corrected some things in it, and made it more harsh and unreasonable for that nation, which we already hear they have stomached at, and will not suffer it in many parts to be read; and we justly fear that this his Common Prayer-Book, and his great compliance with this court, will at last bring strife and division between the two kingdoms of Scotland and England." And this most true relation of William Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury (though I have often spoken of it in private discourse and publicly preached it at the lecture of Wingham in Kent) I could not in my conscience omit it here, both to vindi-

commendation succeeding to the Treasury; as ‘that Prelate (he artfully insinuated to his Majesty) having no family or dependents, would manage the revenue more to his advantage than those noblemen, who sought only to create vast estates for themselves and their craving connexions.’

In the course of this year, he caused the revival of the Book of Sports, which was published with his Majesty’s direction that it should be read in all parish-churches; actively prosecuting such clergymen, as refused to comply with the royal injunction. It gave so much disgust, however, even to moderate churchmen, that some historians have not scrupled to date from this epoch the secret machinations of the Puritans against their Sovereign’s authority.

His metropolitan visitation employed the greatest part of his time during the remainder of this and the following year; and in the course of it he attempted to compel foreigners settled in England, in direct violation of the indulgences granted by former princes, and notwithstanding the commercial benefits accruing from their residence, to conform to the usages of the English Church. This act of religious despotism was violently opposed by the Walloon, the French, and the Dutch Protestants, who were joined by all the English Puritans; and a vehement contest ensued: but in the end Laud so far prevailed,

cate the just censure of death, which the now sitting parliament have formally given against him for such like practices and compliances with Rome: and, secondly, to reprove the ungrounded opinion and error of some ignorant and malignant spirits, who to my knowledge have since his death highly exalted him, and cried him up for a martyr.’

that though foreigners of the first descent were allowed to worship God in their own way, their descendants born in England were ordered by the King to repair to their several parish-churches, under the penalty of being proceeded against by the ecclesiastical laws. In like manner, he endeavoured to oblige the English factories abroad to conform themselves to the ceremonies of the mother-church; and, many of the merchants neglecting such conformity, he obtained a royal order for it's enforcement. We must not, however, omit to mention his interference, toward the close of this year, in favour of the poorer Irish clergy, for whom he obtained from the King a grant of all the impropriations then remaining in the crown.

Unhappily for Laud, after he became one of the Commissioners of the Exchequer, he was almost constantly engaged in warm disputes with Lord Cottington, it's Chancellor, who availing himself of the Primate's rash and choleric temper, frequently betrayed him into gross errors. Of this, a remarkable instance is detailed, in Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion.'* The nobility at large, likewise, resented the appointment of Juxon; a man so unknown, says Clarendon, that his name had scarcely been heard of in the kingdom† before his promotion to the see of London: naturally apprehending, as the high function of Treasurer had not been held by a churchman since the reign of Henry VII.

* At the end of the first book, relative to "a park, which the King had a great desire to make for red as well as fallow deer, between Richmond and Hampton Court."

† He had been, "but two years before, only a private chaplain to the King, and the president of a poor college in Oxford."

that from the interest taken by his Majesty in the honour and prosperity of the Church, the priesthood would engross all the great offices of state. This paved the way to the ruin of the Archbishop, who from his defectiveness in political knowledge, it may be truly said, fabricated the destruction both of himself and of his royal benefactor.

His influence in the North being considerably increased since he had become one of the favourites of the Sovereign, he resolved again to attempt the introduction of the English service into the Kirk of Scotland. Some Canons were published in 1635, but the Liturgy was not produced till the following year. On the day however, upon which it was first read at St. Giles' Church in Edinburgh, it occasioned a violent tumult among the common people, who were countenanced by the nobility. While this affair rendered his name more odious than ever in that kingdom, at home, as his last effort of religious despotism, he attacked the liberty of the press. To him had been ascribed the prosecution carried on, in 1633, in the Court of Star-Chamber against Mr. Prynne, barrister at law (who had already become obnoxious by his writings against Arminianism and Prelacy) for his '*Histrio-Mastix*,'* a tedious tract written generally against plays, masques, dancing, and similar entertainments, in which among other things he had asserted, that actresses were notorious prostitutes, and maintained his argument by instances of it. Unfortunately,

* For an account of this voluminous quarto of eleven hundred pages, with it's incalculable quotations and references foaming over the margins, which was first published in 1632, see Hume's '*History of England*,' VI. 52.

the Queen had acted a part in a pastoral at Somerset House, not long after the publication of this piece; and of this circumstance Laud availed himself to punish the author, who in some former writings had been extremely severe upon the hierarchy. Pryune's piece, it was falsely contended, was published subsequently to her Majesty's performance, and the reflexion above-mentioned was pronounced a meditated affront to royalty. In that light the King himself was persuaded to regard it. The writer was tried, and sentenced to 'pay a fine of 5000*l.*, to be expelled the University of Oxford, and the Society of Lincoln's-Inn; to be degraded, and for ever disabled from following his profession of the law; to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, and to lose one of his ears at each place; to have his book burnt before his face by the common hangman; and to suffer perpetual imprisonment.' This sentence was carried into execution, with great rigour, in 1634. During his confinement, he wrote several books; in one of which, entitled 'News from Ipswich,' he severely reflected upon Laud and some other prelates. For this, he was again prosecuted in the Star-Chamber in 1637, and sentenced to pay an additional fine of 5000*l.*, to lose the remainder of his ears in the pillory, to be branded in both cheeks with the letters S. L. for a 'Schismatical Libeller,' and to be confined for life in Caernarvon Castle.

About the same time, likewise, took place the prosecution of Dr. Bastwick a physician, who had caused to be printed in Holland his '*Elenchus Religionis Papisticae*,' with an Appendix entitled '*Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latialium*;' 'A Confutation of Popery,' and 'A Scourge for the Pope

and the Latin Bishops.' Several copies of this book being dispersed in England, Laud and some of his brethren chose to represent it as a general libel against episcopacy, though the author had expressly stated, that 'he intended nothing against such Prelates as acknowledged their authority from kings and emperors;' and prosecuted the author in the Court of High-Commission, where he was sentenced to 'pay a fine of 1000*l.* with costs of suit, to have his books burnt, and to be himself excommunicated, prohibited the practice of physic, and imprisoned two years in the Gate-House.' Against the illegality and severity of this sentence he published two pieces, during his confinement, which were deemed libels,* and for these he was cited to appear in the Star-Chamber. To the charge against him he drew up an answer; but no counsel would sign it, and without such signature the Court refused to receive it: upon which the Doctor exclaimed, "If your honours shall refuse it, I protest before men and angels this day, I will put this answer of mine into Roman buff, and send it through the whole Christian world, that all men may see my innocency and your illegal proceedings; and this I will do, if I die for it:" upon which, he threw it into court. Nevertheless, sentence was passed on him the same day to 'pay a fine of 5000*l.*, to stand in the pillory, to lose his ears, and to be imprisoned for life in some remote part of the kingdom.'

The last person included in this inquisitorial process was the Rev. Henry Burton, Rector of St. Matthew's in Friday Street, London;† who.

* 'An Apology' for himself, and 'The New Litany.'

† A full detail of every thing connected with these three gentlemen, who seem somewhat impatiently to have courted their fate,

in two sermons delivered the preceding year in his church, had pointed out several innovations recently introduced by the Bishops into the Liturgy. For this he had been cited before one of the Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who tendered him the oath *ex officio*, requiring him to answer to certain articles exhibited against him; but he refused to take it, and appealed to the King. A special court of High-Commission, however, being called soon afterwards at Doctors'-Commons, he was suspended in his absence: upon which he thought fit to conceal himself in his own house, and to publish his two sermons, with an Apology to justify his appeal. But a Serjeant at Arms with several pursuivants and other armed officers, by virtue of a warrant from the court of Star-Chamber, broke open his doors, and carried him to the Fleet-Prison, where he was kept in close confinement for several weeks. While there, he addressed a letter to the King, another to the Judges, and a third 'to the true-hearted Nobility;' for which, and for his discourses, he was condemned to nearly an equal severity of punishment with Prynne and Bastwick.²⁵ He was denied the use of pen, ink,

is given in Prynne's 'New Discovery of the Prelates' Tyranny:' a book, which (as it has been observed) like all his other productions, abounds with uncommon facts on common topics, for he had no discernment; and pronounces Ovid and St. John more favoured in their respective exiles at Tomi and Patmos than himself, as being indulged in the use of materials for writing!

* The firmness, with which Prynne endured his sentence, arose from heroism; Bastwick was intrepid, out of spite; and Burton was supported by his fanaticism. One of Prynne's ears was cut so close, as to take off with it part of his cheek: but he never stirred. Even on his way to the Tower, he had the com-

and paper, and as had been done in the case of Bastwick, even his wife was not permitted to visit him in his prison at Lancaster.

In Laud's Dedication of his Speech, delivered upon the infliction of these punishments in the Star-Chamber, he speaks of "his many diversions." To this, as reprinted by Dr. Rawlinson with Archbishop Williams' marginal notes in 1731, is attached the following bitter commentary of his brother-prelate :

"Your 'diversions' are many indeed. And all your life is but a 'diversion' from your calling. When you lived a fellow of a college, and should have been looking to your pupils and your commons, your marrying of one lord's lady to another (her husband still living) was a 'diversion.' Your holding of two or three cures, and never living upon any, was surely a 'diversion.' Your bishopric in Wales, and attendance upon the

posure (interpreting the S. L., with which he had been branded by irons cruelly heated twice, æ *Stigmata LAUDIS*) to write upon them,

*Stigmata maxillis referens insignia LAUDIS,
Eandem remco victima grata Deo.*

For his retribution, which he had almost prophetically anticipated at his trial, the reader is referred to 'The History of the Troubles and the Tryal of Archbishop Laud,' and to Vicars' 'God in the Mount, or a Parliamentary Chronicle.' He did, indeed, to adopt his own expression, "strike proud Canterbury to the heart." Even Prynne however, austere puritan as he was, lived to grieve over the calamities, which he had contributed to inflict upon the nation; and to wish that, 'when they cut off his ears, they had cut off his head.' The "busie Mr. Prin," as Whitelocke calls him, closed his political career with becoming an advocate for the Reformation; and, though he hoped to have been made one of the Barons of the Exchequer, was appointed Keeper of the Records in the Tower. (*Calamities of Authors.*)

Duke as his domestic, was an irregular ‘diversion.’ Your being Archbishop of so great a province, and yet puzzling into every private man’s cause, which you do not understand, is a fond ‘diversion.’ Your tattling in your Sovereign’s ears news from Oxford, and poor intelligence of English and Scottish Puritans, when the great Lords would have attended his Majesty with more serious affairs, is a most extravagant and impertinent ‘diversion.’ Your running from your own to your Sovereign’s house, for fear of a few boys and the man in the moon, was a kind of start and ‘diversion.’ Your meddling with matters of war and peace, which you, poor Phormio, never understood, was unto this King and kingdom a very dear ‘diversion.’ Lastly, this very act of yours, to neglect all Christian mildness and fall upon the killing and massacring of these poor flies in the Star-Chamber, to draw malice and hatred upon all your coat and calling, was unto the church of England a most unfortunate ‘diversion.’ And doubt you not, but we shall consider, and remember as long as we live, your many ‘diversions.’”

He elsewhere calls the Primate, from Gadareus’ definition of Tiberius, *πηλον ἄμαρτι περιρραμνον*, *lutum sanguine maceratum homulum*, a ‘compound of blood and dirt.’ To this acrimony he seems to have been stimulated at once by a keen sense of the ingratitude with which he had been treated by Laud, and an anxious desire to vindicate himself from his special attack in the Speech itself; “a speech against a Bishop,” he says, “you have often flattered and couched unto.” The tenor of this Speech was, ‘to recite briefly under thirteen heads all the innovations

charged, of less or greater moment, and as briefly to answer them.' Of these the last was, "The placing of the Holy Table altar-wise at the upper end of the chancel, *i. e.* the setting of it north and south, and placing a rail before it (to keep it from profanation, which Mr. Burton says, is done) to advance and usher in Popery." In the discussion of this charge, his Grace adverts to the Lincolnshire Minister's Treatise,* and 'its nameless author' with considerable severity; charging him with "prevaricating from the first word to the last in the book," and with "wanting a great deal of that learning to which he pretends, or else with having written wholly and resolvedly against both his science and his conscience:" on both which accounts, he "wonders at the Bishop of the diocese (Williams) a man of learning and experience, that he should give testimony to such a business, and in such times as these." Both these criminations Williams repels with a degree of vehemence, almost demonstrably identifying him with the author; among other passages observing, "the Minister is content to be Burtonised by his Grace and Leightonised, if his Grace hath ever read, seen, or doth understand the sixth part of these books (which here he alleges not to be truly alleged and scused) cited in that treatise:" and adding, "I do know the Minister never saw any of Burton's, Bastwick's, or Prim's, till this harangue forced him to call for them. The Bishop saw nothing in the times, but what he thought might be despised by wise men: and conceived these pamphlets (when, after this harangue uttered, he got a sight of them) not worthy the no-

* 'The Holy Table, Name and Thing, &c.'

tice-taking by any discreet Prelate. But in what kingdom, or under what laws do we live?

— *Ubi nunc, lex Julia, dormis?*

“ May a Prelate, at his own fond and lawless pleasure, in sentencing a third person, fall upon a Bishop (not once named in the cause) and consecrated in that calling before him not only *tempore* but *ordine causandi*, and that in a libellous and wicked manner, *et etiam impunè*? (*Est tamen in cælis, qui hæc videt auditque omnia*) and, peradventure, hath justly lashed that person by this viperous tongue, who indiscreetly and contrary to the advice of his Metropolitan,* and the inclination of his Lord and Sovereign, used his own tongue too forwardly in his green and immature days to procure this Prelate his first rochet, which he hath so well improved for the good of this church and commonwealth.—*At tu indignus, qui faceres tamen!*”

The main scope of these libels was, as Laud states, to ‘kindle a jealousy in men’s minds that there were some dark plots in hand, to change the orthodox religion established in England; and to bring in (he adds) I know not what Romish superstition in the room of it.’ In reference to this object, his Right Reverend opponent taunts him with having suggested several omission in our Liturgy,† as well as altera-

* Dr. Abbot, before whose death however, as Williams observes, “Laud ruled the roast divers years.”

† Sir Peter Pett likewise, Advocate-General for Ireland, as appears from his ‘Memoirs of the Earl of Anglesey,’ thought these passages seemed to be somewhat trimming in favour of the church of Rome.

tions in that sent to Scotland; and “yet will not the Papist,” he remarks, “advance one inch:”

Rusticus es, Corydon, nec munera curat Alexis.

Laud now originated a bitter persecution against Williams, who upon losing his office of Lord Keeper had retired to his diocese; where he spent his time in reading and the good government of his charge, and became exceedingly popular, entertaining the clergy at his table, and discoursing freely about affairs of church and state. He even said once in conversation, “that the Puritans were the King’s best subjects, and he was sure would carry all at last; and that the King had told him, he would treat them more mildly for the future.” The Primate being informed of this expression, caused an information to be lodged against him in the Star-Chamber for revealing the royal secrets. But the charge not being well supported, a new bill was exhibited against him, for having tampered with the prosecutor’s witnesses: and although there was very little ground for the charge, his Lordship was ‘suspended in the High-Commission Court from all his offices and benefices; fined ten thousand pounds to the King, and one thousand marks to Sir John Monsor, and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower during his Majesty’s pleasure.’ His rich goods and chattels, to an immense value, were sold to pay the fine; his library was seized, and all his papers and letters were examined. Among these were found two or three epistles addressed to him by Mr. Osbaldeston, head master of Westminster School, containing some dark and obscure expressions, which the jealous Archbishop in-

terpreted against himself and the Lord Treasurer Weston. Upon the ground of these doubtful documents, he was accused of having divulged scandalous libels against the King's Privy Councillors. His Lordship replied, that 'he did not remember having received the letters, and was sure that he had never divulged them, because they were still among his private papers. He was condemned however, in a 'fine of five thousand pounds to the King, and three thousand to the Archbishop;' for the non-payment of which, he was kept close prisoner in the Tower till the meeting of the Long Parliament.*

* Upon the ground of the same letters, Mr. Osbaldeston was accused of having plotted, with the Bishop of Lincoln, to divulge false news, and to breed a difference between the Lord Treasurer Weston and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1633. And though his counsel absolutely denied any reference to the Archbishop, and named the persons meant in the letters, the court fined him 'five thousand pounds to the King, and five thousand to the Archbishop; and condemned him to be deprived of all his spiritual dignities and promotions, to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure, and to stand in the pillory in the Dean's Yard before his own school with his ears nailed to it.' Mr. Osbaldeston however escaped to a place of concealment, and remained undiscovered till the meeting of the Long Parliament; but all his effects were confiscated. In his remarks upon these prosecutions, particularly that against Dr. Williams, Bishop Warburton says, "This prosecution must needs give every one a bad idea of Laud's heart and temper. You might resolve his high acts of power in the State into reverence and gratitude to his master, his tyranny in the Church to his zeal and love of what he called religion; but the outrageous prosecution of these two men can be resolved into nothing but envy and revenge: and actions like these they were, which occasioned all that bitter but indeed just exclamation against the Bishops, in the speeches of Lord Falkland and Lord Digby."

The press now teemed with inflammatory pamphlets and remonstrances against him: in consequence of which he procured a decree from the Court of Star-Chamber to regulate the trade of printing; injoining, that the master-printers should be reduced to a certain number, and that none of them should print any books till they were licensed either by the Archbishop or the Bishop of London, or some of their chaplains, or by the Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities, upon pain of being disabled from following their profession in future, and farther prosecuted in the Court of Star-Chamber, or in that of High-Commission. Every merchant or bookseller, who should import any books from abroad, was obliged to deliver a catalogue of them to the Archbishop, or to the Bishop of London: and none were to be issued or exposed to sale, till these Prelates or their chaplains had signified their approbation. It was also farther ordained, that no person should cause to be printed beyond sea any English book or books, whether previously in circulation or not; nor was any book to be reprinted, though formerly licensed, without a new authority.

Not content with these measures, he proceeded to lay a restraint upon the personal liberty of the subject. The shackling of the press, joined to the extreme rigour with which conformity to the ceremonies of the Established Church was now enforced, having occasioned numerous migrations, he prevailed upon his Majesty to issue the following Proclamation:—"The King being informed, that great numbers of his subjects are yearly transported into New England with their families and whole estates, that they may be out of the reach of ecclesiastical authority, commands

that his officers of the several ports should suffer no person to pass out of the kingdom, without licence from the Commissioners of the Plantations, and a testimonial from their minister, of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the Church of England."

The officers were, at the same time, expressly enjoined not to suffer any clergyman to transport himself, without a testimonial from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. "This," says Neale, "was a degree of severity hardly to be paralleled in the Christian world. When the Edict of Nantz was revoked, the French King allowed his Protestant subjects a convenient time to dispose of their effects, and to depart the kingdom: but our protestant Archbishop will neither let the Puritans live peaceably at home, nor take sanctuary in foreign countries; a conduct, hardly consistent with the laws of humanity, much less with the character of a Christian bishop. But, while his Grace was running things to these extremities, the people took a general disgust, and almost all England became Puritans."

The measures too, which he continued to advise with respect to Scotland, drew down upon him the confirmed hatred of that kingdom, and provoked the renewal of the solemn League and Covenant subscribed by King James and the whole nation in 1590. By his attempt in 1637 to force upon them the new Liturgy, which he had revised and corrected with the assistance of Bishop Wren, their opposition was called into action.

Toward the end of this year, with a view of redeeming himself from the suspicion of Popery, Laud vehemently exclaimed at the council-board in the

royal presence against the increase of Papists in London, their frequent resort to Somerset House, and the insufferable misdemeanors of some of their priests in perverting his Majesty's subjects. This duplicity gave great offence to the Queen, and the people heard with delight that the Primate was in disgrace. But he quickly devised an expedient to recover his lost favour. In the beginning of the year 1639, he addressed a circular letter to his suffragan Bishops, exhorting them and their clergy to contribute liberally toward raising the army, which the King was then assembling with a view of reducing the Scottish Covenanters to obedience. As it was well known, that the quarrel originated in the opposition made by that kingdom to episcopal authority and the imposition of a foreign Liturgy, he was branded in consequence with the appellation of an incendiary; and, when all the royal measures proved unsuccessful, incurred the sarcastic inquiry of the King's jester, "Who's fool now?"

About this period, his Grace was employed in a manner more suitable to his high function, though not less conformable to his zeal for the hierarchy over which he presided. He employed Mr. Petley to translate the Liturgy into Greek; and he engaged Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, to compose his celebrated treatise, entitled, 'Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted.' He could not, however, restrain himself from interfering in the cabinet. He was one of the three Privy Councillors, who advised the King to call a parliament on the event of a rebellion in Scotland; but at the same time he concurred in, if he did not suggest, a resolution to assist his Majesty by extra-

ordinary ways and means, if that parliament should perversely refuse him the necessary supplies.

Of this assembly, which after an interval of twelve years met April 13, 1640, the first language was a violent complaint against the Archbishop, and the first requisition a redress of grievances. Upon which the King, in a message to the Commons, declared the urgency of his affairs, and offered, if they would assist him against the Scots, to abandon his claim to ship-money, and to give them satisfaction in their just demands. Unfortunately his Majesty having sent a second message by Sir Henry Vane, requiring a supply of six subsidies,* which his messenger either by

* "Subsidies and Fifteenths," observes Mr. Hume, "are frequently mentioned by historians; but neither the amount of these taxes, nor the method of levying them, has been well explained. It appears, that the Fifteenths formerly corresponded to the name, and were that proportionable part of the moveables. But a valuation having been made in the reign of Edward III., that valuation was always adhered to, and each town paid unalterably a particular sum, which the inhabitants themselves assessed upon their fellow-citizens. The same tax in corporate towns was called a Tenth, because there it was at first a tenth of the moveables. The whole amount of a Tenth and a Fifteenth throughout the kingdom, or a Fifteenth as it is often more concisely called, was about 29,000*l*. The amount of a Subsidy was not invariable, like that of a Fifteenth. In 8 Eliz. a Subsidy amounted to 120,000*l*.; in 40 Eliz., it was not above 78,000*l*. It afterward fell to 70,000*l*.; and was continually decreasing. The reason is easily collected from the method of levying it. We may learn from the subsidy-bills, that one Subsidy was given for 4*s*. in the pound on land, and 2*s*. 8*d*. on moveables throughout the counties; a considerable tax, had it been strictly levied. But this was only the ancient state of a Subsidy. During the reign of James, there was not paid the twentieth part of that sum. The tax was so far personal, that a man paid only in the county where he lived, though he should possess estates in other

mistake or through design converted into twelve, the House was thrown into a flame. Upon this, Charles with fatal precipitancy put an end to the session, after they had sat only three weeks; thus making way for the Long Parliament, into which men more violently hostile to monarchy were elected.

All the engines of arbitrary power were now set at

counties; and the assessors formed a loose estimation of his property, and rated him accordingly. To preserve however some rule in the estimation, it seems to have been the practice to keep an eye to former assessments, and to rate every man according as his ancestors, or men of such an estimated property were accustomed to pay. This was a sufficient reason why Subsidies could not increase, notwithstanding the great increase of money and rise of rents. But there was an evident reason, why they continually decreased. The favour, as is naturally to be supposed, ran always against the crown; especially during the latter end of Elizabeth, when Subsidies became numerous and frequent, and the sums levied were considerable compared to former supplies. The assessors, though accustomed to have an eye to ancient estimations, were not bound to observe any such rule; but might rate anew any person according to his present income. When rents fell, or part of an estate was sold off, the proprietor was sure to represent these losses, and obtain a diminution of his subsidy: but where rents rose, or new lands were purchased, he kept his own secret, and paid no more than formerly. The advantage, therefore, of every change was taken against the crown; and the crown could obtain the advantage of none. And, to make the matter worse, the alterations which happened in property during this age were in general unfavourable to the crown. The small proprietors, or twenty pound men, went continually to decay; and, when their estates were swallowed up by a greater, the new purchaser increased not his subsidy. So loose indeed is the whole method of rating Subsidies, that the wonder was, not how the tax should continually diminish, but how it yielded any revenue at all. It became at last so unequal and uncertain, that the parliament was obliged to change it into a LAND-TAX." (Appendix to Reign of James I.)

work to raise money for the war; as loans, benevolences, ship-money, coat and conduct-money, knight-hood, monopolies, and other springs of the prerogative: some of which (says Lord Clarendon) were ridiculous, others scandalous, but all very grievous to the subject: and those, who refused payment, were fined and imprisoned by the Star-Chamber or Council-Table. The nation, highly incensed at these measures, grew outrageous against Laud, their suspected adviser; and a paper was pasted up at the Old Exchange, exhorting the apprentices to rise and plunder his palace at Lambeth. In conformity to this invitation, about five hundred assembled, and attempted it: but the Archbishop having prepared for their reception, they were obliged to retire; and one of their ringleaders, a cobbler, being tried for high-treason upon the statute of Edward III. for levying war against the King, was hanged, drawn, and quartered.

A member of the Lower House having apprised the Archbishop of a precedent, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of the clergy's granting a Subsidy **after** the parliament was risen, and levying it by their own synodical act, the Convocation (which, by ancient law and custom, ought to have broken up with the parliament) was through Laud's intercession continued by his Majesty; not only till six Subsidies had been granted, but also till a collection of Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical had been compiled, which were subsequently sanctioned by the Privy Council.

These Canons, however, on their promulgation giving considerable offence, and provoking numerous petitions, the King found it expedient to suspend the

enforcing of them till the next meeting of the Convocation. In the mean time, the Scottish army, in consequence of a negotiation between the nobility of the two kingdoms who were determined to resist the royal encroachments, had taken possession of the three northern counties, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham; when the King, who with his forces had retreated before them as far as York, purchased a cessation of arms for two months by stipulating to pay them a certain daily sum for their maintenance, and immediately to summon a free parliament.

This celebrated assembly, known by the name of the 'Long Parliament,' met November 3, 1640: and the first subject of it's discussion was, the Canons compiled by the late Convocation, which it denounced as containing 'many matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence.' On the same day, likewise, a Committee was appointed to inquire more particularly, how far Laud had been concerned in their enactment. On the day following, Articles were exhibited against him by the Scottish Commissioners in the House of Lords, and at a conference of the two Houses reported to the Commons.

And now the storm, which had been long gathering, burst upon the head of it's victim. Denzil Holles, second son to John Earl of Clare, by order of the Commons impeached the Primate of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors, at the bar of the Upper House. Upon this, he was ordered to withdraw; previously to which however, after pro-

fessing himself sorry for the offence taken against him, he ‘desired their Lordships to look upon the whole course of his life, which (he said) was such, that he did verily persuade himself, not one man in the Lower House did believe in his heart that he was a traitor.’ He was here called to order by the Earl of Essex, who said ‘it was an indecent reflexion upon that assembly, to suppose that they should accuse him of so high a crime, if they did not themselves believe him guilty.’ The Archbishop then desired, that ‘he might be proceeded against in the ancient parliamentary way;’ to which Lord Say answered, ‘he must not prescribe to them, how they should proceed.’ His Grace had not long withdrawn, when he was summoned to the bar, and by the Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod, pursuant to an order of the House, taken into custody. Their Lordships also ordered, that no member of their house should visit him. The Scottish Commissioners, who were come to Ripon in Yorkshire in order to negotiate an accommodation between the two countries, now despatched a strong remonstrance against him, which gave additional strength to the Articles then in preparation. These Articles, to the number of fourteen,* the Commons sent up to the House of

* The substance of them was reduced by his counsel to three general charges: 1. An endeavour to subvert the fundamental Laws of the realm, and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law; 2. An endeavour to subvert the true Religion as by law established, and instead thereof to set up Popish superstition and idolatry; 3. An endeavour to subvert the rights of Parliament, and the ancient course of parliamentary proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense the King against parliaments.

The defence set up in his behalf was, that admitting all the

Lords, desiring time to exhibit the proofs of each, and that he might in the interim be kept safe. Upon which he was conveyed to the Tower, March 1, 1641, amidst the reproaches and insults of the multitudes, who lined the streets to see him pass. The next care of the Lower House was, to release all who had been illegally imprisoned by decrees of the Courts of Star-Chamber and High-Commission, and to oblige those by whom they had been sentenced, to make them all the reparation in their power.

In conformity to this principle the Archbishop, having been the principal agent in the severe proceedings against Pryme, Bastwick, and Burton, was ordered to make them satisfaction respectively. He was farther fined 20,000*l.* for the active part, which he had taken in the Convocation of 1640.

In May 1641, his Grace was farther sentenced by the House of Lords to pay 500*l.* to Sir Robert Howard, for false imprisonment. In June, he resigned the chancellorship of the University of Oxford; and in October, the Lords sequestered his ecclesiastical jurisdiction into the hands of his inferior officers, injoining that he should not dispose of any benefice without the previous approbation of that House. In the January following, they ordered the arms and ordnance, which he kept at his palace at Lambeth, to be taken away by the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex;* and before the end of the year, all the rents and profits of his see were appropriated to

charges to be true, they did not by any law amount to high treason.

* By his own account, he had as many arms as cost him upward of 300*l.*; for what purpose, as a churchman, it is hard to be conceived.

the use of the commonwealth: nor could he upon petition obtain even a part of some wood and coals remaining at Lambeth, and valued by him at 200*l.*, though he wanted them for his necessary use in the Tower.

On the twenty-fifth of April, 1643, a motion was made in the House of Commons to transport him to New England, but it was over-ruled. On the ninth of May, his goods and books at Lambeth were seized, and the goods sold publicly for a third of their value.* On the sixteenth of the same month, an Ordinance of Parliament was issued, injoining him not to confer any benefice without an order from both Houses: and a fortnight afterward Mr. Prynne, who had become a member of the House of Commons, received from the Close Committee a warrant to search his room in the Tower for papers, which he executed with indecent rigour; examining even his pockets, and carrying away his Diary,† his papers of private devotions, and the very memoranda drawn up for his defence. Shortly after this event, having bestowed a living without regard to the above-mentioned Ordinance, he was totally suspended; and on the tenth of October, ten additional articles of im-

* This has been pronounced an unwarrantable measure, as he had not yet been brought to his trial, and legally convicted. But he had been sentenced to pay one sum of 500*l.*, and perhaps by this time Prynne, Bastwicke, and Burton had made their demands of reparation; so that the seizure and sale above-mentioned probably took place, to secure payment to the injured parties.

† This was, ungenerously, published before his death. A promise likewise, it is said, was violated upon this occasion; Prynne having engaged to restore these papers to him within three days and having only returned a very small part of them.

peachment were carried up against him, and the Lords were requested to hasten his trial.

He had now been three years a prisoner in the Tower, and was so loosely guarded, that it was generally thought to be the intention even of his enemies that he should escape. The trial, however, at last came on March 12, 1644; and though much of the evidence was trifling or irrelevant, it sufficiently appeared, that he had laboured to extend the royal prerogative and the ecclesiastical power to a degree utterly inconsistent with the liberties of the people; that he had been active in enforcing the illegal claim of ship-money; that he had imprisoned, and punished, several persons contrary to law; and had been guilty of many arbitrary and cruel actions. His plea, that ‘many of these were acts of the Privy Council,’ if admitted, would go near to extinguish the personal responsibility of ministers: and it would, indeed, be a poor vindication of criminals of any description, if they were to allege, that ‘they had accomplices in their crimes.’

During his whole trial, he defended himself with uncommon eloquence, acuteness, and presence of mind; and, as appears from the report which he has left behind him of every day’s hearing, evinced the greatest address and ability, mixed with the most sarcastic reflexions upon his adversaries. At length, after it had lasted twenty days, the Commons, finding their evidence insufficient to convict him of treason in the ordinary course of law, had recourse to the method which had been previously adopted in the case of the Earl of Strafford. On the thirteenth of November, a Bill of Attainder was read the first time in the Lower House, and

sent to the Upper on the sixteenth. There it remained till the fourth of January following, when it passed in a very thin assembly, the Lords present being over-awed (as some have stated) by the violence of the Earl of Pembroke, and the menaces of the mob without doors, and the King's pardon under the Great Seal being pleaded in vain in bar of the attainder.

The Primate received the news of his condemnation with signal fortitude; but finding the sentence to be that, which the law awards against high-treason, he made repeated applications to have it changed to beheading. In this request he was, at last, indulged; yet not without much opposition from those, who had suffered ignominious punishments under his decrees.

The tenth of January, 1645, being appointed for his execution, he was conducted to a scaffold on Tower Hill, where he made a long and affecting speech to the people. Numbers however eagerly enjoyed the melancholy spectacle, and behaved with great indecency to the last, creeping under the scaffold, and looking at him through the crevices of the boards; so that he was disturbed in his devotions, and obliged to desire the proper officers either to stop them with clay, or to remove the people, being unwilling (he said) that 'his blood should fall upon their heads.' The substance of his speech was, a declaration that 'he was a true member of the Church of England, and that he suffered for endeavouring an uniformity; an exculpation of the King from the charge of favouring Popery; and a solemn protestation at the hour of his death (the same, which he had before made at the bar of both Houses) that he was innocent of the points of treason charged

against him; as he had never endeavoured the subversion of Law, or Religion, neither was he an enemy to Parliaments. The parliament, by which he was condemned (he intimated) was misinformed and misgoverned; a circumstance so much the worse, as the subject was thereby left without a remedy.' Throughout the whole speech, occur strong marks of unfeigned piety; but whenever he touches the political or the priestly chord, he invariably betrays his leading foible.

After some time passed in private prayer, he submitted to the fatal stroke, putting off mortality with uncommon firmness. His head was severed from his body at one blow; and the corpse was interred by his friends in the church of Allhallows, Tower Street. It was taken up however after the Restoration, and deposited in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford.

"Laud," says the author of 'British Biography,' "was undoubtedly a man of considerable learning and abilities; but was notwithstanding, in many respects, extremely weak and superstitious. Of this, his Diary affords very pregnant instances. He was also of a very warm, hasty, and passionate temper, and of a disposition somewhat vindictive; but, in other respects, his private life appears to have been free from reproach: though we can find in his actions but very few evidences of that 'immense virtue,' which Lord Clarendon attributes to him. He was of very arbitrary principles, both in church and state; extremely active in promoting the most illegal and despotic measures of government, and inclined to very severe methods in the Ecclesiastical Courts, especially against the Puritans, and all who made

any opposition to the doctrines or ceremonies established by authority. As to his theological principles, though he could not with propriety be termed a Papist, it is nevertheless certain, that he was a great favourer of many of the doctrines maintained by the Church of Rome; and that the religion he laboured to establish partook largely of the nature and genius of Popery. Though he would not probably have chosen, that England should have been brought into subjection to the Pope, he appeared very desirous of being himself the sovereign patriarch of the three kingdoms."

The poetry of the following passage, in which he is made to supply a parallel to the literati of antiquity destroyed by their talents (Juv. Sat. x. 114—132.), will perhaps justify its insertion; though, where a high churchman and the favourite of a Stuart is concerned, we do not naturally look to Dr. Johnson for impartiality :

“ Nor deem, when Learning her last prize bestows,
The glittering eminence exempt from foes :
See when the vulgar ’scapes, despised or awed,
Rebellion’s vengeful talons seize on LAUD,
From meaner minds though smaller fines content,
The plunder’d palace or sequester’d rent,
Mark’d out by dangerous parts he meets the shock,
And fatal Learning leads him to the block.
Around his tomb let Art and Genius weep ;
But hear his death, ye blockheads, hear and sleep
(Vanity of Human Wishes.)

“ He was low of stature,” says Fuller, “ little in bulk, cheerful in countenance, wherein gravity and quickness were well compounded, of a sharp and piercing eye, clear judgement, and (abating the influence of age) firm memory. He was very plain in

apparel, and sharply checked such clergymen whom he saw go in rich or gaudy clothes, commonly calling them ‘of the church triumphant.’ Thus as Cardinal Wolsey is reported the first Prelate, who made silks and satins fashionable among clergymen, so this Archbishop first retrenched the usual wearing thereof. Once at a visitation in Essex, one in orders (of good estate, and extraction) appeared before him very gallant in habit; whom Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, publicly reprov’d, showing to him the plainness of his own apparel. “My Lord (said the minister) you have better clothes at home, and I have worse;” whereat the Bishop rested very well contented.”

He was munificently liberal, and beside his several benefactions to the University of Oxford, procured a new charter and a body of statutes for Trinity College, Dublin. He obtained, also, for St. John’s College the advowson of St. Lawrence in Reading; for which town he likewise got a charter, and founded an hospital, endowing it with revenues to the amount of 200*l. per ann.* Upon the whole, he discovered great taste for ancient learning, and was a friend to men of letters, whenever their religion or politics did not interfere with his own.

As an author, he acquired but little reputation, except for his account of the Conference between himself and Fisher the Jesuit, which passed through several editions; but so many more valuable performances have subsequently appeared upon the same subject, that it is now scarcely remembered. This tract, Seven Sermons, and some short Annotations on the life and death of James I. are the whole of his literary productions, printed in his life-time; and it

is astonishing that, after such high encomiums upon his learning by various writers, we should find such inconsiderable proofs of it from the press.

In 1695, Mr. Henry Wharton edited his 'Diary' (which had previously been given to the world, in a very mutilated state, by his old victim Prynne) with the History of his Troubles and Trial written by himself, in one volume folio. And in 1700 was, also, published in folio, 'An Historical Account of all Material Transactions relating to the University of Oxford, from Archbishop Laud's being elected Chancellor to his Resignation of that Office,' from his own pen. About eighteen of his Letters to G. J. Vossius were printed by Colomesius in his Collection, entitled '*G. J. Vossii et Clarorum Virorum ad eum Epistolæ*,' Lond. 1690, folio; and some others are preserved at the end of Parr's Life of Usher, and Twell's Life of Dr. Pococke.

EXTRACT

From a Discourse on Ps. cxxii. 3—5, at the opening of Parliament, Feb. 6, 1625.

* * * * *

—'And my text hath it not simply, *like a city at unity*, but at unity *together*, or *in itself*. And this, the better to resist foreign malice. It were happy if all states, Christian especially, were at unity in themselves, and with their neighbours. And the Church prays, 'that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered.' But when the ambition of neighbouring states will admit nor safe nor honourable peace, then there's most need Jerusalem should be at peace

and unity in itself. Need? yes, need, with a witness: for all division, if it be voluntary, 'tis an opening; if it be violent, 'tis a breach: both make way for foreign force.

' Thus it was with Jerusalem of old, when she lost her unity. For faction within the walls was a help to Titus, and his siege without; and long after, when the Christians had won it from the Saracens, their own divisions among themselves to their loss and shame let in Saladin the soldan of Egypt.

' And this hath been often fatal upon our Jerusalem: for scarce ever did a great enemy enter this kingdom, but when it was not *sicut civitas*, like a city at unity in itself. *Not at unity* opened the door to the enemy still; for Toustain's division and infold made way for the Norman. And there were more divisions than one to help in the Dane. And Gouthigernus first, and Mordredus after, brought in the Saxon. And Julius Cæsar himself, the mirror of men for military discipline, he which, for aught I have read and remember, scarce ever turned his back to any enemy else, fled from the ancient inhabitants of this kingdom,

Territa quæ sitis ostendit terga Britannis;

till Avaroius, called by Cæsar Mandubratius, out of hatred and in faction against Cassibellanus, brought him back again, and made him entrance.

' So it seems Tacitus' observation was too true upon us, 'that nothing gave the Romans, powerful enemies though they were, more advantage against the ancient Britons than this, *Quòd factionibus et studiis trahebantur*, that 'they were broken into factions, and would not so much as take counsel and

advice together.' And they smarted for it. But I pray, what's the difference for men not to meet in council, and to fall in pieces when they meet? If the first were our forefathers' error, God of his mercy grant this second be not ours !

' Now there is *coagmentatio duplex*, a double buckling and knitting of the state together ; and if either fail, the unity is broken. The one is of the members of the state with their head, especially the most honourable, which are nearest. The other is, of the members one with another. And this is grounded upon that of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xii. where we find some necessity of every member ; not a like necessity of any : but honour and respect done to all. And why so ? Why ? Why, the Apostle tells you, ver. 25. ' It is, that there may be *no division in the body* ; that still it may be at unity in itself.

' And it is very observable, that in all that large discourse of St. Paul concerning the unity of the body and the members, he conceives at full, how corruption can unnaturalise nature itself. Therefore he supposes the eye may quarrel with the hand, ver. 21.; and 'tis a dangerous quarrel that, when the eye and the hand, direction and execution, are at odds in any State.

' Well he can conceive that ; but he doth not so much as suppose, that any members would be at odds with the head : No, God forbid ! The head can compose other members, and settle their peace in the body ; but if any quarrel the head, all unity is gone. And yet the Apostle cannot suppose so much unnaturalness, that any member should quarrel the head ; not the tongue, as unruly as it is : yet he is very direct, that there is an office, which the head

owes the body, and all the members to the very meanest, for the preservation of this unity. For the head cannot say to the very feet, as low as they are, *I have no need of you*; ver. 21.

‘ And for the Church, that’s as the city too; just so. Doctrine and Discipline are the walls and the towers of it. But be the one never so true, and be the other never so perfect, they come short of preservation, if that body be not at unity in itself. The Church, take it Catholic, cannot stand well, if it be not compacted together into a holy unity in faith and charity. It was miserable, when St. Basil laboured the cure of it: For distracted it was then, as St. Gr. Nazianzen witnesseth, into six hundred divers opinions and errors. And ’tis miserable at this day: the Lord in his time show it mercy!

‘ And, as the whole Church is in regard of the ~~affairs~~ of Christendom, so is each particular Church in the nation and kingdom in which it sojourns. If it be not at unity in itself, it doth but invite malice, which is ready to do hurt without any invitation; and it ever lies with an open side to the devil, and all his batteries. So both State and Church then happy, and never till then, when they are both at unity in themselves and one with another. * * *

—‘ The words in my text are plural, *seats of judgement*. And ’tis observable. For the exorbitances of men, that quarrel others, are such and so many, that one seat of judgement only was scarce ever sufficient for any state. *Seats* they must be, and they seldom want work. In the prime times of the Church, Christians could not hold from going to law, one with another, and that under unbelievers; 1 Cor. vi.

‘ To meet with this frailty of man, God in this

commonwealth, which himself ordered, appointed not one but many seats of judgement. And therefore even the inferior seats, howsoever as they are settled by the King and the State severally to fit the nature of the people in several kingdoms, are of positive and human institution; yet as they are seats of judgement, they have their foundation upon divine institution too, since *there is no power but of God*; Rom. xiii. By these seats of justice and judgement, the learned in all ages understand judiciary power and administration, both ecclesiastical and civil: and they are right.

‘For the Sanhedrim of the Jews, their greatest seat of judgement under the King (after they had that government) was a mixed court of priests and judges, Deut. xvi.; though other kingdoms since, and upon reason enough, have separated and distinguished the seats of ecclesiastical and civil judicature.

Since this division of the seats of judgement, there was a time when the ecclesiastical took too much upon them. Too much indeed; and lay heavy not only upon ordinary civil courts, but even upon the house of David, and throne of the King himself. But God ever, from the days of Lucifer, gave pride a fall; and pride of all sins least besecms the Church. May we not think, that for that she fell? But I pray remember ’twas *Fastus Romanus*, ’twas Roman pride, that then infested this Church with many others.

‘The time is now come in this kingdom, that the civil courts are as much too strong for the ecclesiastical, and may overlay them as hard, if they will be so unchristian as to revenge. But we hope they which sit in them will remember, or at the least that

the house of David will not forget, that when God himself (and he best knows, what he doth for the unity of Jerusalem) erected seats of judgement, he was so far from ecclesiastical anarchy, that he set the high-priest very high in the Sanhedrim, and ecclesiastical and church-causes must have their trial and ending as well as others.

“ I know there are some, that think the Church is not yet far enough beside the cushion; that their seats are too easy yet, and too high too. A parity they would have. No Bishop, no governor, but a parochial consistory, and that should be lay enough too. Well, first this parity was never left to the Church by Christ. He left Apostles, and disciples under them. No parity. It was never in use with the Church since Christ. No Church ever, any where (till this last age) without a Bishop. If it were in use, it might perhaps govern some petty city; but make it common once, and it can never keep unity in the Church of Christ. And for their seats being too high, God knows they are brought low, even to contempt. They were high in Jerusalem. For all divines agree, that this in prime reference is spoken of ecclesiastical censures and seats. And the word is ‘ Thrones; ’ no less. So the original: so the Septuagint; and so, many of the later divines, forgetting their own invention of the Presbytery.

“ And one thing more I will be bold to speak, out of a like duty to the Church of England and the house of David. They, whoever they be, that would overthrow *sedes ecclesie*, the seats of ecclesiastical government, will not spare (if ever they get power) to have a pluck at the throne of David. And there is not a man that is for parity, all fellows in the

Church, but he is not for monarchy in the State. And, certainly, either he is but half-headed to his own principles, or he can be but half-hearted to the house of David.

From a Fast Sermon on Ps. lxxiv. 22. before the King, July 5, 1626.

*

—“ Now the cause of God meant here, though it be proposed as *causa una*, one cause, yet 'tis very large, and comprehends many particulars under it. Some directly concern God, and some only by reflex. But God is so tender of his justice and his honour, that nothing can so much as touch upon him, but 'tis God's cause presently: *Inasmuch as ye have done it (or not done it) to one of these little ones, you have done it (or not done it) to me*, St. Matt. xxv. And so goes the text, God's cause; all and but one, whether it be directed against him, or reflected upon him: whether it be the reproach which the Son of God suffered for us, or the troubles and afflictions which we suffer for him, 'tis God's cause still, and accounted as one.

“ As one: And yet I find three things agreed upon, to be principally contained in this cause of God. First, the Magistrate, and his power and justice: and resist either of these, and ye resist the power, and the ordinance of God, Rom. xiii. There's God's cause plain. And the eye of nature could see *aliquid divinum*, somewhat that was divine in the governors and orderers of commonwealths. In their very office: inasmuch as they are singled out to be the ministers of Divine Providence upon earth, and

are expressly called ‘the officers of God’s kingdom,’ *Sap.* vi. And therefore the school concludes, that any the least irreverence of a King, as to dispute of his judgements, and whether we ought to follow and obey him, *sacrilegium dicitur*, is justly extended to be called ‘sacrilege.’ And since all sacrilege is a violation of some thing that is holy, it is evident that the office and person of the King is sacred: sacred, and therefore cannot be violated by the hand, tongue, or heart of any man; that is, by deed, word, or thought: But ’tis God’s cause, and he is violated in him. And here Kings may learn if they will, I am sure ’tis fit they should, that those men which are sacrilegious against God and his Church, are for the very neighbourhood of the sin the likeliest men to offer violence to the honour of Princes first, and their persons after.

“ Secondly, the cause of the Church, in what kind soever it be: be it in the cause of truth, or in the cause of unity, or in the cause of right and means, ’tis God’s cause too. And it must needs be so. For Christ and his Church are head and body, *Ephes.* i. And, therefore, they must needs have one common cause. One cause: And you cannot corrupt the Church in her truth, or persecute her for it, or distract her from her unity, or impoverish and abuse her in her means, but God suffers in the oppression. Nay more, no man can wilfully corrupt the Church in her doctrine, but he would have a false God; nor persecute the professors of the Church, but he would have no God: nor rent the Church into sects, but he would have many Gods: nor make the Church base, but he would pluck God as low, were God as much in his power as the Church is. And, therefore, the

Church's cause is God's cause. And as Eusebius tells us, when by Stephen Bishop of Laodicea the state of that church was much hazarded; it, and the means of it, were mightily upheld by God himself. And Elias Cretensis goes full upon it, in the general. 'Tis God's cause, any controversy that he debates against his enemies. Now this ever holds true, in whatsoever the Church suffers for the name of God and Christ. And therefore, if either State or Church will have their cause God's, the State must look their proceedings be just, and the Church must look their devotions and actions be pious. Else if the State be all in wormwood and injustice, if the Church savour of impunity and irreligion, if either of these threaten either body, neither can call upon God then. For sin is their own and the devil's cause, no cause of God's, who punishes sin ever, but never causes it.*

“ Thirdly, 'Tis God's cause, which is directly against himself, when injustice that he will not, or weakness that he cannot, arise and help are most unworthily, nay blasphemously cast upon him. The very text, you see, calls it no less than blasphemy. And, as St. Basil tells us, 'twas *audacter effusa*, most audaciously cast into the face of God. But how, I pray? How? Why, they persecuted the Church of Christ with great extremities; and then, because God did not always and in all particulars deliver it, *Deum ut infirmum traducebant*, they accused God of impotency. Rabshakeh's case before Christ in the flesh: *Which of the gods have delivered the nations that serve them, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem?* 2 Kings xviii. Pilate's case to Christ: *Have not I power to crucify thee, and power to loose thee?* St. Jol.n xix. Julian's case after Christ: ‘ For while

he raged against the Christians, he turned the contumely upon God, and charged Omnipotence with weakness.' So you see the cause of God what it is, and withal that it is many, and but one. Many, in the circumference of his creatures, which fill up the State and the Church; and yet but one, in the point of that indivisible centre, which is himself.

* * * * *

—Now all this while, we have almost forgotten, who 'tis that makes this prayer. Saint Hierom tells me, and he is not alone in the opinion, the Psalm was David's, and therefore the prayer too. As a prophet, he foresaw the danger; and, as a King, he went on directly to the highest remedy. And though Kings now are not prophets, yet 'tis a great blessing upon any kingdom to have the King a seer so far as is possible: to have him with both eyes open: his right eye open and up to heaven, for God to maintain him; and his other eye downward, but open upon his people, to take care of them, and maintain them with the same support that he hath received from God. And herein, above other nations, we are blessed this day: I say again, 'above other nations;' if we can see our blessing, and be thankful. For the King keeps his eye as steady upon God, as if he had no help below him: and yet at the same time as gracious an eye upon his people to relieve their just grievances, as if he were more ready to help them, than to receive help from them.

"Let not your hearts be troubled, neither fear, St. John xiv. Here are two Kings at once at prayer for you, David and your own King.' They are up, and calling upon God to arise. For shame, lag not behind God and your King. You have been, and I

hope are, a valiant nation; let nothing ~~dent~~ your spirits, in God's and your country's service; and, if any man drop malignant poison into your ears, pour it back into his own bosom.

“ And, Sir, as you were first up, and summoned the Church to awake, and have sounded an alarm in the ears of your people; not that they should fast and pray, and serve God alone, but go with you into the House of the Lord; so go on to serve your Preserver. Your merit, and the nobleness of your heart, will glue the hearts of your people to you. And your religious care of God's cause and service will make him (I doubt not) arise, and haste to the maintenance of your cause, as of his own. *Only in these, and all times of difficulty, be strong and of a good courage; keep close to the law of the Lord.* Be full of counsel, and then resolute to act it. *Else,* if you shall not be firm to deliberated counsels, *they* which are bound to serve you, may seek and find opportunities to serve themselves upon you. *This do;* and God arise and be with you, as he was with Moses, Josh. i. ! *This do;* and as St. Chrysostom speaks, *Aut non habebis inimicum, aut irridebis eum :* ‘ *Either you shall have no enemy, or you shall be able to scorn him the world over.*’

JOHN WILLIAMS,

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, AND LORD KEEPER.*

[1582—1650.]

THIS eminent man united in his character the divine and the lawyer, and in both capacities deservedly acquired high reputation. The youngest son of Edward Williams, Esq. of Aberconway in Caernarvonshire, where he was born March 25, 1582, he was educated at the public school at Ruthin, and at sixteen years of age admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge. His natural parts were excellent, and his application still more uncommon; for he was of so singularly happy a constitution, that from his youth upward he never required more than three hours' sleep out of the twenty-four, to keep him in perfect health. After taking his successive degrees in arts, he was made Fellow of his College: yet this first piece of preferment was obtained by mandamus from James I. His manner of studying had in it something extremely particular. Esteeming variety almost as refreshing as cessation from labour,

* AUTHORITIES. Hacket's *Life of Williams*, Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, and Wilson's *Life of James I.*

he used to allot a month to a certain department of learning; at the end of which, he would take up other subjects in rotation, till he came round to his former courses. This method he more especially observed in his theological studies; and he found his account in it. He was also an exact philosopher, as well as an able divine, and admirably versed in every branch of literature.

He was less distinguished, however, even for his erudition, than for his extraordinary dexterity and skill in business. When he was not more than five and twenty, he was occasionally admitted to speak upon some college-concerns before Archbishop Bancroft, who was exceedingly interested by his engaging wit and agreeable manners. At another time, he was deputed by the Master and Fellows of his College, as their court-agent, to petition James I. for a mortmain in augmentation of their maintenance: upon which occasion he not only succeeded in his suit, but was particularly noticed by his Majesty; as he told him long afterward, when he became his principal officer. In his twenty-seventh year, he entered into orders; and accepted a small living, which lay beyond Bury St. Edmund's, upon the confines of Norfolk. In 1611, he was instituted to the rectory of Grafton-Regis in Northamptonshire, on the King's presentation, and the same year was recommended to the Chancellor Egerton for his chaplain; but he obtained his Lordship's leave to continue one year longer at Cambridge, in order to serve the office of Proctor of the University.* In

* He gave a magnificent and well-conducted entertainment to the Chancellor and the Spanish Ambassador during his proctorship: upon which, Egerton told him, 'that he was fit to serve

1612, he was presented to the rectory of Grafton-Underwood in Northamptonshire by the Earl of Worcester, and the same year he took his degree of B. D. In 1613, he was made Precentor of Lincoln; Rector of Waldegrave in Northamptonshire, in 1614; and within the three years immediately following, was successively collated to a prebend and residentiaryship in the church of Lincoln, and to prebends in those of Peterborough, Hereford, and St. David's.

In 1617, the Chancellor upon the day of his death called Mr. Williams to him, and told him, 'if he wanted money, he would leave him such a legacy in his will as should enable him to begin the world like a gentleman.' "Sir," he replied, "I kiss your hands: you have filled my 'cup full; I am far from want, unless it be of your Lordship's directions how to live in the world, if I survive you." "Well," said the Chancellor, "I know you are an expert workman. Take these tools to work with; they are the best I have:" upon which, he delivered to him certain books and papers.*

When Sir Francis Bacon succeeded to the Seals, he proposed to continue Mr. Williams in his chaplaincy; but he declined the offer. At the same time, he was appointed King's Chaplain, and had orders to attend his Majesty in his northern progress: but the Bishop of Winchester obtained leave for him to stay and

a King;' and, to evince his sincerity in the compliment, took an early opportunity of making him known to one.

* These notes, Bishop Hacket informs us, he himself saw; and adds, that 'they were collections for the well-ordering of the High Court of Parliament, and the Court of Chancery, the Star-Chamber, and the Council-Board.'

take his doctor's degree,* for the sake of entertaining to Marco Antonio de Dominis Archbishop of Spalato, who had recently arrived in England, and designed to visit Cambridge at the ensuing Commencement. In 1619, he was collated to the deanery of Salisbury; and, the year following, removed to that of Westminster. This preferment he obtained through the interest of the Marquis of Buckingham, whom for some time he neglected to court, as we learn from Hacket, for two reasons; first, 'because he mightily suspected the continuance of the Marquis in favour at court; and secondly, because he saw that his Lordship was very apt suddenly to look cloudily upon his creatures, as if he had raised them up on purpose to cast them down.'

Once however, while he was in attendance upon the King, during the Marquis' absence, his Majesty abruptly asked him, 'When he was with Buckingham?' "Sir," said the Doctor, "I have had no business to resort to his Lordship." "But," replied the King, "wheresoever he is, you must go to him about my business." This he regarded as a hint to frequent the Marquis; to whom he was, subsequently, serviceable in promoting his marriage with the wealthy daughter of the Earl of Rutland. †

The Chancellor (Bacon) being removed from his office in May 1621, Dr. Williams was appointed

* The questions, which he maintained for his degree were, *Supremus Magistratus non est excommunicabilis*, and *Subductio Calicis est mutilatio Sacramenti et Sacerdotii*.

† He reclaimed her Ladyship from the errors of the Church of Rome; in order to which, he drew up the 'Elements of the True Religion' for her use, and printed twenty copies of it under the signature of 'An Old Prebendary of Westminster.'

Keeper of the Great Seal the tenth of July following; and, in the course of the same month, was made Bishop of Lincoln, with the deanery of Westminster and the rectory of Waldegrave *in commendam*. Upon delivering the Seal, his Majesty was overheard to say, "Now, by my soul, I am pained at the heart where to bestow this; for, as to my lawyers, I think they be all knaves." Several persons had been thought of for this high office, particularly Sir James Leigh, Sir Henry Hobart, and the Earl of Arundel: but the person most likely to obtain it, was Sir Lionel Cranfield, Master of the Court of Wards. The King however, before he disposed of it, set Buckingham to ascertain it's just emoluments, and whether it had any claim to certain perquisites which some were solicitous to lop off. Cranfield, in his impatience to succeed, entreated the Marquis to be quick, and to advise concerning the matter with the Dean of Westminster: "a sound and ready man," he added, "who was not wont to clap the shackles of delay upon a business." Accordingly Williams, being requested to deliver in writing his sentiments upon the subject, speedily returned an account of the legal revenue of the office, with some annexed remarks. This paper was carried by Buckingham to the King, who having read it, said, "You name divers to me to be my Chancellor. Queen Elizabeth, after the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, was inclined in her own judgement, that the good man Archbishop Whitgift should take the place; who modestly refused it because of his great age, and the whole multitude of ecclesiastical affairs lying upon his shoulders. Yet Whitgift knew not the half that this man doth, in reference to this office." The

Marquis, surprised at his Majesty's observation, replied; "Sir, I am a suitor for none, but for him that is so capable in your great judgement." "Be you satisfied then," said the King, "I think I shall seek no farther:" upon which, Buckingham immediately despatched a messenger to the Dean, acquainting him, "that the King had a preferment in the deck for him." Thus unexpectedly was he raised to this important appointment.

It's duties he discharged, by the assistance of able lawyers, which he judiciously procured, with extraordinary diligence and ability. When he first entered upon it, he had such a load of business, that he was forced to attend by candle-light in the Court of Chancery two hours before day, and to remain there till between eight and nine; after which, he repaired to the House of Peers, where he sat as Speaker till twelve or one. Then, snatching a short repast, he returned to hear other causes in court, frequently till eight or nine at night. After this, when he came home, he perused what papers his secretaries brought to him; and immediately proceeded to prepare himself for the business of the following morning in the House of Lords. By such indefatigable industry, we are told, during his first year of office he determined more causes, than had been despatched in the seven preceding years.

In the Star-Chamber he behaved with greater lenity and moderation, than had been usual among the judges of that court. He excused himself from inflicting severe corporal punishments upon offenders, by saying, that 'Councils had forbidden the Bishops from judicially meddling with blood:' and in fiscal ~~finer~~ his hand was so light, that the Lord Treasurer

Cranfield complained against him to the King, for lessening his Majesty's fees. He was equally generous, likewise, in remitting fines due to himself; of which the following is given as an instance: Sir Francis Englefield had affirmed before witnesses, "that he could prove this holy Bishop Judge had been bribed by some, who had fared well in their causes." The Lord Keeper, in order to clear himself from the imputation, called upon Sir Francis to make good his words; which he not being able to do, a fine of some thousand pounds was laid upon him, to be paid to the King and the injured party. Soon afterward however the Bishop sent for him, and told him, 'he would give him a demonstration that he was above a bribe;' adding, "and for my part I forgive you every penny of my fine, and I will beg of his Majesty to do the same." This piece of generosity so vanquished Sir Francis, that he immediately acknowledged his fault, and was subsequently received by the Lord Keeper into some degree of friendly intercourse.

He made use of his influence, also, with the King in behalf of several noblemen, at that time under the royal displeasure; and procured the liberation of the Earls of Northumberland, Oxford, and Arundel, who had all been a considerable time in confinement.

Nor were his intercessions confined to cases of noble delinquency. A clergyman had been imprisoned for intermeddling in the pulpit with state-affairs. Williams, desirous of procuring his release, informed the King, that 'he had heard some idle gossips complained grievously of his Majesty, and did not stick to curse him.' "Why, what evil have I done to them?" said the King. "Sir," replied the Lord Keeper, "such a man's wife, upon tidings of her husband's imprisonment, fell presently into labour; and the midwives

can do her no good to deliver her, but say 'it will not be effected, till she be comforted to see her husband again:' for which the women that assist her revile you, that her pains should stick at such a difficulty." "Now weal away," cried the King, "send a warrant presently to release him, lest the woman perish." Mr. Knight likewise, a young Oxford divine, had preached a sermon derogatory (as it was affirmed) to the royal prerogative, for which he was long imprisoned in the Gatehouse; and a charge was about to be preferred against him, impeaching him of treason. One Dr. White also, a clergyman far advanced in years, was threatened with a prosecution of a similar kind. The Bishop, by the following stratagem, successfully mediated for both. Some instructions had been appointed to be drawn up, under his direction, for the performance of useful and orderly preaching; in the execution of which he besought his Majesty to admit, as a proviso, that 'none of the clergy might be permitted to preach before the age of thirty, nor after that of threescore.' "On my soul (said the King) the devil, or some fit of madness, is in the motion; for I have many great wits, and of clear distillation, that have preached before me at Royston and Newmarket to my great liking, that are under thirty. And my Prelates and Chaplains, that are far stricken in years, are the best masters in that faculty that Europe affords." "I agree to all this (answered the Lord Keeper); and since your Majesty will allow both young and old to go up into the pulpit, it is but justice that you show indulgence to the young ones, if they run into errors before their wits be settled (for every apprentice is allowed to mar some work, before he be cunning in the mystery of his trade), and pity to the old ones,

if some of them fall into dotage when their brains grow dry. Will your Majesty conceive displeasure, and not lay it down, if the former set your teeth an edge sometimes before they are mellow-wise; and if the doctrine of the latter be touched with a blemish, when they begin to be rotten and to drop from the tree?" "This is not unfit for consideration (said the King); but what do you drive at?" "Sir," replied Williams, "first, to beg your pardon for mine own boldness: then to remember, that Knight is a beardless boy, from whom exactness of judgement could not be expected; and that White is a decrepid spent man, who had not a fee-simple but a lease of reason, and it is expired. Both these, that have been foolish in their several extremes of years, I prostrate at the feet of your princely clemency." In consequence of this judicious intercession, King James readily granted them both a pardon.

The Bishop expended considerable sums to procure good intelligence in the affairs of state; and Hackett records an artful contrivance, by which he discovered the intrigues of the Spanish Ambassador against Buckingham. A paper of complaints and informations against the favourite had been privately transmitted to the King. This gave James such disturbance, that on setting off to Windsor, when Buckingham offered to step into the carriage, his Majesty upon some slight excuse left him behind, though he implored with tears to know the cause of his displeasure. Upon which, Williams immediately informed him, that it was occasioned by the influence of the Spanish Ambassador's agents; and advised him instantly to repair to Windsor, and never to quit his Majesty's presence. This prudent counsel Buckingham followed.

and having mentioned the story to Prince Charles, the Lord Keeper received his Royal Highness' thanks in the lobby of the House of Lords, with a request that he would discover what he knew farther concerning this plot. "You," said the Prince, "who have gone thus far, may receive greater thanks of us both, if you will spread open this black contrivance, which has lost Buckingham the good opinion of my father, and myself am in little better condition." "Sir," replied Williams, "let my soul suffer for falsehood, if I know any more than that some in the Spanish Ambassador's house have been preparing mischief, and infused it about four days since into his Majesty. But the curtain of privacy is drawn before the picture, that I cannot guess at the colours." "Well, my lord," said Charles, "I expected better service from you; for if that be the picture-drawer's shop, no Councillor in this kingdom is better acquainted than yourself with the works and the workmen." "I might have been," answered the Lord Keeper: "but your Highness and my Lord Duke have made it a crime to send unto that house; and they are afraid to do it, who are commanded from his Majesty. It is a month since I have forbidden the servants of that family to come at me." "But," rejoined the Prince, "I will make that passage open to you again without offence, and enterprise any way to bring us out of this wood wherein we are lost. Only before we part, keep not from me how you came to know or imagine, that the Spanish agents have charged Buckingham to my father with high misdemeanors, or perhaps disloyalty. I would hear you to that point, that I may compare it with other parcels of my intelligence." "Sir," said the Prelate, "I will go

directly with you. Another perhaps would blush, when I tell you with what heifer I plough; but knowing my own innocence, the worst that can happen is to expose myself to be laughed at. Your Highness has often seen the Secretary Don Francisco Carondelet. He loves me, because he is a scholar; for he is Archdeacon of Cambray: and sometimes we are pleasant together; for he is a Walloon by birth, and not a Castilian. I have discovered him to be a wanton, and a servant to some of our English beauties, but above all to one of that gentle craft in Mark Lane. A wit she is, and one that must be courted with news and occurrences at home and abroad, as well as with gifts. I have a friend that hath bribed her, in my name, to send me a faithful conveyance of such tidings as her paramour Carondelet brings to her. All that I instructed the Duke in, came out of her chamber. And she hath well earned a piece of plate or two from me, and shall not be unrecompensed for this service, about which your Highness doth use me, if the drab can help me in it. Truly, Sir, this is my dark lanthorn, and I am not ashamed to inquire of a Dalilah to resolve a riddle; for in my studies of divinity I have gleaned up this maxim. *Licet uti alieno peccato*: though the devil makes her a sinner, I may make good use of her sin." "Yea," said the Prince merrily, "do you deal in such ware?" "In good faith, Sir," replied the Lord Keeper, "I never saw her face." With this the conference ended; but Williams, subsequently, found means to elicit from Carondelet himself the particulars of the Spanish charge against Buckingham. He, also, drew up an answer to it for the Duke's use, and sent them both to him by the Prince.

Notwithstanding these services, however, he was unable to secure that nobleman's friendship. This, it seems, was only to be done, by an implicit conformity to his will and pleasure in all things; which Williams could not bring himself to endure. His interest at court nevertheless continued so great, that he held his post till the death of his Sovereign, whom he attended in his last moments, and followed with the flattery of a funeral-sermon to his grave. James had promised him the reversion of the archbishopric of York; but neither the services which he had performed for Charles himself, in shielding him (while Prince of Wales) from his father's displeasure, nor his exertions in behalf of his ungrateful favourite, could secure him the protection of the youthful Monarch. His character, indeed, was by no means suitable to the system of despotism projected by the King, Buckingham, and Laud. He was too able an advocate for the religious and civil rights of the subject.* He was, therefore, dismissed from his office, as soon as it could be done with any appearance of decency, which was after the dissolution of the first parliament of the new reign. In October, 1625, the Seals were delivered to Sir Thomas Coventry. It was likewise hinted to Williams, that his presence at the council-board would be dispensed with; and that, if he took his seat in the next parliament, he would incur the royal displeasure. With respect to the last injunction, however, he thought it his duty not to comply. On the contrary, finding that no writ had

* "With undaunted courage (observes his compatriot, Penant) he persisted in all that was right; and being subject to the passions of his country, great passion, pride, and vanity, sometimes in what was wrong."

been issued to summon him or the Earl of Bristol, he joined with that nobleman in a complaint to the House of Lords of this breach of privilege; and their Lordships petitioning his Majesty that writs might be issued, the Bishop closely attended his duty in the parliament of 1626, and supported the ‘Petition of Right’ with all his power. In resentment of this conduct, a commission was appointed by the minister to make a strict scrutiny into his decrees in the Courts of Chancery, the Star-Chamber, and the High-Commission, which terminated greatly to his honour. But in the end, Laud having engaged two of his creatures, Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorpe, to lodge an information against him for having protected Puritans, by discouraging the prosecution of them in his diocese; and a third (Sir John Monson) having sworn, that he had bribed the King’s evidences, and thus put a stop to a former prosecution commenced against him; after nine days’ deliberation he was sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000*l.* to the King, another of 1,000 marks to Sir John Monson, to be suspended by the Court of High-Commission from his ecclesiastical functions, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure.*

The Bishop received the news of this oppressive sentence with great composure, saying “Now the work is over, my heart is at rest; so is not many of theirs, who have censured me.” In the Tower, where he remained three years, he astonished even his enemies by his fortitude and patience, being as cheerful as usual, and amusing himself with literary employments. Upon the meeting of the Long Parliament

* See the ‘Life of Archbishop Laud.’

in November 1640, he addressed to his Sovereign a petition (seconded by the Queen's mediation) that he might be released, and receive his writ as a Peer to sit in parliament; but, through the influence of Laud and the Lord Keeper Finch, his requests were refused. The Lords, however, again thought proper to exert their authority upon this occasion: for, about a fortnight afterward, they sent the Usher of the Black Rod to the Lieutenant of the Tower to demand the Bishop of Lincoln; and the King not daring to oppose the measure, he was peaceably surrendered, and instantly took his seat in the Upper House. His Majesty, likewise, thought proper to be reconciled to him, and ordered all the minutes of the information and proceedings against him to be destroyed; not as some have asserted, "that nothing might stand upon record against him," but in order to screen Laud and the other Judges from the parliamentary inquiry, which was threatened by the leaders of the opposition. Such, however, was the amiable disposition of Bishop Williams, that no entreaties could induce him to prosecute his enemies, or even to lodge any complaint against them before the House.

When the attainder of the Earl of Strafford was in agitation, Williams, we are informed by Hacket, maintained the right of the bench of Bishops (at that time warmly contested) to vote in capital cases.*

* Lord Clarendon, on the contrary, asserts that 'he not only withdrew when this business came on, but frankly declared that where life was concerned, they ought not to be present.' From the piety, learning, and accuracy of Hacket (then his chaplain) and in 1661 promoted to the see of Lichfield and Coventry, we have reason to believe, he has related the truth; especially, as Clarendon seizes every occasion to condemn the principles and conduct of Williams. Granger however observes,

The King declared, that ‘ he could not conscientiously give his assent to this act of attainder.’ Lord Say desired his Majesty to confer with his Prelates upon the subject, more particularly with Bishop Williams: who advised him to reflect, that the lives of himself, his Queen, and his children, were in danger from the fury of an incensed multitude; that the nation seemed unanimous in demanding the head of Strafford; and that therefore as the first Magistrate, whose duty it was to preserve the public peace, he ought not to scruple compliance, even though an innocent man should suffer for the general good.*

The see of York becoming vacant in 1641, Williams upon the strength of the late King’s promise claimed the reversion; and the situation of public affairs rendering it expedient for Charles to retain him in his service, he was promoted to that dignity. In the same year, he made a long and learned speech in the House of Lords, in opposition to the bill for depriving the Bishops of their seats in parliament, which occasioned it to lie upon the table five months. At length, the mob flocking about the doors with cries of ‘ No Bishops! No Bishops!’ and insulting many of them as they passed, particularly the new Archbishop, who had his robes torn from his back; he lost his usual serenity of temper, and retiring to his residence at the Deanery, Westminster, summoned all the Bishops then in town (amounting, with himself, to twelve) in whose joint name he despatched

that ‘ the probity of the Chancellor is less to be suspected than the partiality of the chaplain.’

* This advice Lord Clarendon has misrepresented greatly to the Bishop’s disadvantage; but, upon examining other historians, it appears to amount to no more than is above stated.

a paper to the House of Lords, complaining of ‘ the violence by which they were prevented from attending, and protesting against all the acts which were or should be done during the time that they should by force be kept from discharging their duties in that House.’ Upon receiving this protestation the Lords, who had exerted themselves in favour of the bill, joyfully exclaimed, ‘ it was *Digitus Dei*, to accomplish that which they had despaired^{*} of;’ and without passing any judgement upon it themselves, desired a conference with the Lower House, who readily concurred^{*} in charging the protesters with high-treason, and sending them to the Tower. There they remained, till the bill was passed, which did not happen till some months afterward.

In June 1642, when the King was at York, the Archbishop was enthroned in the cathedral. But his Majesty being obliged in the following month to quit that city, his Grace did not remain long behind him: for the younger Hotham having sworn to put him to death for certain opprobrious words spoken against him concerning his treatment of his Sovereign at Hull, he retired to Cawood Castle; where he received advice, late one night, that his adversary with a strong force intended to attack him early next morning. Upon this intelligence, he made his escape at midnight with a few horse, and fled to his estate in Wales, where he repaired and fortified Conway Castle for the King’s service. The beginning of the following year, being summoned to attend his Ma-

* One commoner only sarcastically observed in their favour, “ He did not believe they were guilty of high-treason, but that they were stark-mad; and, therefore, he desired they might be sent to Bedlam.”

jesty at Oxford, he cautioned him against Oliver Cromwell, as his most dangerous enemy; assuring him, that ‘though he was at that time of mean rank and use in the army, he would soon climb higher.’ “I knew him,” said the Archbishop, “at Bugden; but never knew his religion. He was a common spokesman for sectaries, and maintained their parts with stubbornness. He never discoursed, as if he was pleased with your Majesty and your great officers: indeed, he loves none that are more than his equals. Your Majesty did him but justice, in repulsing a petition put up by him against Sir Thomas Steward of the Isle of Ely. But he takes them all for his enemies, that would not let him undo his best friend: and above all that live, I think he is *injuriarum persequentissimus*, as Portius Latro said of Catiline. He talks openly, that it is fit some person should act more vigorously against your forces, and bring your person into the power of the parliament. He cannot give a good word of his General, the Earl of Essex, because (he says) ‘the Earl is but half an enemy to your Majesty, and hath done you more favour than harm.’ His fortunes are broken, that it is impossible for him to subsist, much less to be what he aspires to, but by your Majesty’s bounty, or by the ruin of us all and a common confusion; as one said, *Lentulus salvâ republicâ salvus esse non potuit*. In short, every beast hath some evil properties; but Cromwell hath the properties of all evil beasts. My humble motion is, that either you should win him to you by promises of fair treatment, or catch him by some stratagem, and cut him short.”

After some stay at Oxford, he returned to Wales,

having received fresh instructions from the King to 'take care of the whole of North Wales, but more particularly of Conway Castle, in which the neighbouring natives by his permission had placed their most valuable effects.' In 1647 however Sir John Owen, a Colonel in the royal army, having entered Wales after a defeat, was appointed by Prince Rupert to the command of that castle; and accordingly he took possession of it by force, though Williams produced a letter from his Majesty, in which he granted the command to himself or his deputy, till his expenses in repairing and fortifying it should be reimbursed. Having vainly remonstrated against the conduct of this domestic invader, who even refused him his own beer and wine for present use, and finding no other means of redress, he joined in assisting Colonel Mytton, a zealous officer in the parliament-service, to retake it. He even attended in person upon this occasion,* and surrendered the castle to Mytton upon the express condition, that every person should receive back his property, which had been detained by Owen, with the strictest exactness: yet was he loudly censured by the royalists for this transaction.

Thenceforward, no farther mention is made of his Grace in public life. He was so affected with the horrors of the civil war, and finally with the King's execution, that he passed the remainder of his days in study and devotion at the house of Lady Mostyn

* This exploit was commemorated by a satirical print, in which he was represented in an episcopal habit, with a musket on his shoulder and a helmet on his head, his mitre lying at some distance!

at Llandegai, his natural cheerfulness having given way to dejection, which put a period to his life on the twenty-fifth of March, 1650, at the age of 68. He was interred in the parish-church of Llandegai, where several years after his decease, his nephew and heir Sir Griffith Williams erected a monument to his memory.

He acquired some reputation as a theological writer by his printed sermons, but still more by his *Treatise against Laud's innovations in the rites and ceremonies of the church*. It is entitled, 'The Holy Table, Name, and Thing, more anciently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament than that of an Altar; written long ago by a Minister of Lincolnshire, in answer to D. Coal, a judicious divine of Queen Mary's days.' *

In his private life, he is charged with ostentation and luxury; but it does not appear that he deserved this censure. The whole accusation indeed amounts only to this, that he lived more hospitably than his predecessors at Bugden, and as Lord Keeper kept open house for all persons of rank who travelled that

* This book, which received the *Inprimatur* of Jo. Lincoln! Dean of Westminster, as "most orthodox in doctrine and consonant in discipline to the Church of England, and setting forth the King's power and rights in matters ecclesiastical truly and judiciously" was published in 1657, 4to., but has never been reprinted, and is now not often to be met with. (See the Extracts subjoined.) By Clarendon, though no friend to the Archbishop, it is represented as having "much good learning;" and it has been held in great esteem by the Dissenters, who venerate the character of Williams as at that time the only one of his order, who had the courage to stand forth in support of religious toleration.

way ; seldom sitting down to table without some of the clergy of his diocese. And, when he was reproached for living with too much splendor, he used to say, ‘ he would spend his own while he had it, for he thought his adversaries would not let him enjoy it long.’ He even continued his customary establishment, after he had incurred the displeasure of his Sovereign, and was known to be in disgrace. This enraging the ministry, he coolly observed, ‘ that he knew not what he had done, to live the worse for their sakes, who did not love him.’ Beside being extremely charitable to the indigent, he was very liberal to poor scholars in both universities, and to learned foreigners in distress : a remarkable instance of which deserves to be recorded, as an example of delicate munificence. Peter du Moulin, an eminent French Protestant divine, had fled to England, to avoid the prosecutions carried on against that profession in his own country. Soon after his arrival, the Bishop sent his chaplain to make him a visit ; and supposing him to be in want, ordered him, in general terms, to ‘ take some money for his use.’ Upon which Hacket remarked, ‘ he could not give him less than twenty pounds.’ “ I did demur upon the sum,” said the Bishop, “ to try you. Is twenty pounds a fit gift for me to give to a man of his parts and deserts ? Take a hundred, and present it from me, and tell him I will come shortly and visit him myself.” He was, also, a great patron to his countryman John Owen the epigrammatist, whom he maintained for several years, and at last buried, erecting a handsome monument to his memory at his own expense. His disbursements in acts of benevolence amounted

to 1,000*l.*, and sometimes to 1,200*l. per ann.*; being extended, in many instances, to private gentlemen distressed by narrow fortunes. Nevertheless, he found means to repair and beautify the choir of Westminster Abbey, to build a library for St. John's College, Cambridge, where he had received his education, and a chapel for Lincoln College, Oxford, which was recommended to him merely by the circumstance of bearing the name of his diocese.

An accident occurred to him, when a boy, which his biographer has judiciously preserved for the purpose of refuting the scandalous reflexions of some writers, his contemporaries, respecting the very close intimacy subsisting (as they pretended) between him and the Countess of Buckingham. "He suffered an adventitious accident, when he was about seven years of age, which compelled him to actual chastity. He took a leap, being then in long coats, from the walls of Conway town to the sea-shore, looking that the wind which was then very strong would fill his coats like a sail, and bear him up as it did his play-fellows. But he found it otherwise: for he did light with his belly upon a big ragged stone, which caused a secret infirmity, fitter to be understood than farther described; and want of timely remedy, the skill of good surgery being little known in that country, continued it to his dying day."

He was at first despised by the lawyers, we are told, in his office of Lord Keeper; but he was soon admired for his deep penetration, solid judgement, and retentive memory, which enabled him to recapit-

tulate any cause tried before him without losing a circumstance.

“ This Bishop, as is said (observes Clarendon) was a man of a very imperious fiery temper, Dr. Williams, who had been Bishop of Lincoln and Keeper of the Great Seal of England in the time of King James. After his removal from that charge, he had lived splendidly in his diocese, and made himself very popular among those, who had no reverence for the court; of which he would frequently, and in the presence of many, speak with too much freedom, and tell many stories of things and persons upon his own former experience: in which, being a man of great pride and vanity, he did not always confine himself to a precise veracity, and did often presume in those unwary discourses to mention the person of the King with too little reverence. He did affect to be thought an enemy to the Archbishop of Canterbury; whose person he seemed exceedingly to contemn, and to be much displeased with those ceremonies and innovations, as they were then called, which were countenanced by the other: and had himself published, by his own authority, a book against the using of those ceremonies, in which there was much good learning and too little gravity for a bishop. His passion and his levity gave every day great advantages to those, who did not love him; and he provoked too many, not to have those advantages made use of: so that, after several informations against him in the Star-Chamber, he was sentenced and fined in a great sum of money to the King, and committed prisoner to the Tower: without the pity or compassion of any but those, who out of hatred to the government were

sorry, that they were without so useful a champion ; for he appeared to be a man of a very corrupt nature, whose passions could have transported him into the most unjustifiable actions.

“ He had a faculty of making relations of things done in his own presence, and discourses made to himself or in his own hearing, with all the circumstances of answers and replies, and upon arguments of great moment ; all which, upon examination, were still found to have nothing in them that was real, but to be the pure effect of his own invention.”

EXTRACT

*From ‘ The Holy Table, Name and Thing, &c.’
upon the topic (then much agitated) of the
placing, &c. of the Communion Table.*

—‘ The Rubric and the Canons call it nothing but a ‘ Table,’ and therefore do not you, a poor vicar in the country, call it an ‘ Altar.’ The writer doth not deny but that the name hath been long in the Church, in a metaphorical usurpation, nor would he have blamed the vicar, if he had in a quotation from the Fathers, or a discourse in the pulpit, named it an Altar in this borrowed sense : but to give the usual call of an Altar unto that church-utensil, which the law (that always speaks properly) never calls otherwise than by the name of a Table, is justly by him disliked, and by this gallant lamentably defended. For I appeal to all indifferent men, that pretend to any knowledge in divi-

nity, if the reading-pew, the pulpit, and any other place in the church, be not as properly an Altar for prayer, praise, thanksgivings, memory, the Passion, dedicating of ourselves to God's very service, and the church's box or basin for that oblation for the poor which was used in the primitive times, as is our Holy Table, howsoever situated or disposed. Or if it be the priest only, that can offer a sacrifice (which, in these spiritual sacrifices, we utterly deny) what one sacrifice doth he infer out of the Collects read by the priest at the Communion-Table, which are not as easily deduced out of the *Te Deum*, or *Benedictus*, said in the choir or reading-pew? Is there no praying, praising, acknowledging, or thanksgiving, commemorating of the Passion, and consecrating of ourselves to God's service in these two hymns? And therefore if that be enough to make an Altar, and that these judicious Rabbies mean not somewhat else than for fear of our gracious King they dare speak out, this man must change the motto of his book, and say, *habemus altaria*, we have ten thousand Altars. Whereas no place in all the church doth offer unto us the body and blood of Christ, in the outward forms of bread and wine, beside the Holy Table only. And consequently if a name be invented to divide and sever one particular thing from another, or to help us to the knowledge of a particular thing, or that a name be that which the law gives the thing, or that a thing cannot have two distinct and proper (however it may have twenty metaphorical) names; then, surely, a Table ought to be the distinct and proper (and so the usual), an Altar but the translatitious and borrowed (and so the more unusual), appellation

of that holy utensil. So that the writer of the letter saith no more than this: If you have occasion, as the Fathers had, to amplify and enlarge the excellency of those Christian duties, prayer, praise, thanksgiving (at the time of the Eucharist, especially) abnegation of ourselves, alms-deeds, and charity, and to show unto your people that these are the only incense now under the Gospel, which God accepts instead of those thousands of rams and odours of Arabia vanished with the law; then, in God's name,

-Fas usum tibi nominis hujus:

you may use the name of Altar, as the ancient Fathers do. But when there is no such occasion offered, and that you speak only with your neighbours and churchwardens about preparing or adorning the church-utensils, what need you then tumble in your tropes, and roll in your rhetoric, when the words of the canon do far better express the duties enjoined them by the canon? As, therefore, you do not in common discourse call the church (as the Puritans in France do) 'the temple;' the bells, 'the holy trumpets;' the choir, 'the sanctuary;' the font, 'Jordan;' your surplice, 'the holy garment;' and your hood, 'the ephod' (although the ancient writers ordinarily do so): so when the rubric and canons do call this sacred utensil a Table, and but a Table, do not you, to be noted only as a divine of great judgement (that is, of whims and singularity) correcting *Magnificat* in the articles of your Bishop's and most reverend Archbishop's visitation, and in the very expression of the King himself, call it an Altar. And surely that Vicar that will not be taught to word it,

neither by the law, nor the rubric, nor the canon, nor his Bishop, nor his Archbishop, nor the King himself, *qui tot imperat legionibus*, is (as they were wont to call a stout priest) a ‘very Thomas-à-Becket,’ and fitter a great deal to officiate at Bethlem near Bishopsgate, than at Jerusalem.

‘Nor had the Ordinary been the wisest man in the world, if having proper officers of his own to execute all his mandates concerning the outward utensils of the church, he should have directed his commandments to the Vicar, or permitted him to command without him. It is not the Ordinary, but the Apostles themselves, that have turned the Parsons and Vicars, from being active in this kind, to their diviner meditations: *It is not reason we should leave the word of God to serve Tables*. The Greek word is a term of law, *αρεσον*, which Erasmus translates ‘a plea;’ the French keep to this day ‘an arrest’ or judgement in law, as Budæus was taught to interpret the word by Paulus Æmilius, the French historiographer. The meaning, therefore, of the text is this: let Dr. Coal find as much fault as he will, that priests are made dull spectators in these affairs, yet shall he never find any order, arrest, or judgement in the church of God, that priests should meddle with Tables. Because, from the time of this arrest and sentence pronounced by the Apostles, the Deacons have ever dwelt therein, as Beza himself confesseth; though he hopes (for, otherwise, it would burst his heart) that they were guided therein by the minister and the elders. But these elders are no elder than Calvin and Beza: and who guided the Deacons, we must learn of the elders indeed. They were the

eye, saith one ; the ear, saith another ; the ministerial servants of the Bishop, saith the third authority. Clear it is, that from this time the Apostles here

*Jura ministerii sacris altaribus apti
In septem statuere viris.—*

From these first Deacons to our present Archdeacons (in whose office the ancient power of the Deacons is united and concentrated) incumbents have been excluded from meddling with the utensils of the church, or ornaments of the altar. So that the very altar itself (with the rail about it) hath been termed in the ancient Councils, ‘ the Diacony,’ as a place belonging (next after the Bishop) to the care and custody of the Deacon only. Nay, so far were the ancients from making a parish-priest a stickler in vestry affairs, that a Council saith clearly, ‘ That the priest can boast of nothing he hath, in general, but his bare name ; not able to execute his very office, without the authority and ministry of the Deacon.’ And to conclude this point with a precedent in this very particular : It was the Deacon’s office, *portare* (mark well the word again, anon) to ‘ move and remove,’ the altar and all the implements belonging thereunto, saith St. Augustine. And if you object, that ‘ some question hath been made, whether that book be St. Augustine’s ;’ I answer, that he that made that question concludes withal, that if it was not written by St. Augustine, it was by an ancients author than St. Augustine, and is evidence good enough for matter of fact, though peradventure not every where for points of doctrine. And as the Archdeacon is the eye, so the Churchwarden (as slight an opinion as you conceive of him)

is the hand of the Bishop and the Archdeacon too, to put all mandates in execution that may concern the utensils of the church. I observe our Latin canons in force, by calling him *Œconomus*, do put him beside the scorn this companion would throw upon him, by making him relate to that ancient ecclesiastical office, famous in the Greek and Latin Councils. It is true, he moves now in a lesser orb, yet with the same influence he did before. At the first they were, as they are now, laymen; some domestics or kinsmen of the Bishop's, who managed all things belonging to the church (being then matters of good moment and consequence) according to the direction of the Bishop. But because all the state of the church, consisting in those times mostwhat in goods and chattels arising from the devotion of the people, was thus transacted in a hugger-mugger, *inter partes propinquas* (by parties so nearly allied in references one to another, that it grew very suspicious there might be foul play in the business) that famous Council of Chalcedon ordered peremptorily, 'That these churchwardens from that time forward should be clergymen, and more cloigned from the Bishop's family.' Yet did some continue of opinion, this canon notwithstanding, that laymen were capable of the office: so that, in a very short revolution of time, it reverted to the laity for altogether.

'Now here in England it hath been ever held an ancient office, and much countenanced, as well by the common, as the canon law: the churchwardens being admitted, in all ages, to bring their actions at common law for trespasses committed upon the church-goods, wherewith they were entrusted. Now

that Bishop were a wise piece indeed, who being complained unto against a Vicar for removing the Holy Table to a place every way inconvenient, would refer the examination of the complaint to the Vicar himself, rather than to his own most ancient officers, to the Archdeacon, his Official, or next Surrogate for the designing, and to the churchwardens for the actual placing, of the table in the most convenient situation. And the elders of the vestry will be little edified with this doctrine, to be made but *οργανα αψυχα* (as Aristotle speaks) ‘dead and passive instruments,’ to execute the commands of the Ordinary and his Surrogates. But all this while the Vicar is a dull spectator, and hath no sphere of activity to move in, but is wholly left to his private meditations. And St. Ambrose, indeed, doth complain of the like complainers in his time, who held that the study of the Holy Scriptures was but a dull and idle kind of employment. But then, *Matto Sancto Pietro* (as the charlatan said, when he saw the Pope in his *pontificalibus*) ‘O simple St. Peter,’ in the sixth of the Acts, that thought it a far more laborious work, than all this moving and removing of tables! O foolish St. Basil, that bids his clergy take especial heed, that their *Martha be not troubled with many things!* O dull Synesius, that held it fitter for an Ægyptian than a christian priest, to be over-troubled with matters of wrangling! Well, Doctor, God help the poor people committed to thy cure: they are like to find but a sorry shepherd; one that will be in the vestry, when he should be in the pulpit; and, by his much nimbleness in the one, is likely to show a proportionable heaviness in the other.

‘ But now *ventum est ad Triarios*, we are drawing on to the main of his battle, and the very pith of his arguments: ‘ That the writer of the letter doth not show one footstep of learning or sincere affections to the orders of the church, because he did not (in a private Monition written nine years before) foresee and make way for a great good work and the piety of the times,’ that were to follow nine years after. Alas! *Ne sc̃vi, magne sacerdos*, ‘ Do not lay all this load upon him, most judicious divine.’ For, as you find by yourself, that can farther see into things to come, that all prophets are not Ordinaries; so consider, I beseech you, in cool blood, that all Ordinaries are not prophets. We may discern of things that are, by sight; that were, by memory: but ‘ before the proof make show, no man is such a prophet of the future, that he knoweth which way to direct his instructions,’ saith a learned and noble writer, out of Sophocles. I am one, I thank God, that have *buenas entranas* (as the Spaniards speak) some ‘ good and tender bowels’ within me, and do much pity the poor man’s case, even by mine own. How could he possibly foresee this ‘ great good work or piety of these times’ so many years before, which I, opening my eyes as wide as I can, cannot discover at this very instant? What is this great work now in hand? What new proclamations, rubrics, canons, injunctions, articles, are come (at the least, into these parts) as any special invitations to the piety of these times, more than were exhibited to the piety of all other times, from the first beginning of the Reformation? His Majesty heard the cause in the year 1633; and in his royal decision he calls it, not Altar, but Communion

Table; and leaves the moving and removing thereof to the discretion of the Ordinary. His Grace, the Metropolitan, visited these parts in the year 1634; and in all his Articles doth not so much as mention the word ‘Altar,’ but calls it (as the rubric doth) a Communion-Table, and puts his Article upon the churchwarden, and not upon the Vicar, concerning the decent sight and convenient ‘standing of the Holy Board:’ “Whether have you, in your church, a convenient and decent Communion-Table,” &c.? And, “Whether is the same Table placed in such convenient sort within the chancel or church, as that the minister may be best heard in his ministry and the administration, and that the greatest number may communicate?” And, “Whether is it so used, out of time of divine service, as is not agreeable to the holy use of it?” &c. And his Lordship or Diocesan, visiting the very next year, 1635 (as a burnt child, and dreading the fire) puts the same Article *in hæc verba*, in the very front of his own book. Since that time we have heard no ring but of the lesser bells, in this time. And one of these I hear chiming at this very instant: “Whether have you in your church a decent Table for the Communion, conveniently placed? And all these concurring with the conceit of the letter in every particular, in the name of a Communion-Table, and not an Altar; in the place of the church or chancel, not of the East end only; in the distinct (not confused) Time of receiving, and not receiving; in the accompt of the conveniency of the situation to be rendered by the Churchwarden, not the Vicar; how shall I, that live at this day (much less the writer of the letter, dead peradventure

nine years ago) reasonably discover, to use your own phrase, that ‘good work’ now in hand, and the special inclination of these times to a peculiar kind of piety differing from the piety of former times, which under the peaceable reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles, the Church of God in these parts hath most happily enjoyed? Surely, I do reasonably presume, that (these dreams of Dr. Coal notwithstanding) the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done; and that, in matters of this nature, *there is no new thing under the sun*. Because wise men tell us, that change of laws, especially in matters of religion, must be warily proceeded in: and because there is no manner of reason, that the orders of the Church should so depend upon one or two men’s liking or disliking, that she should be compelled to alter the same so oft as any should be therewith offended. For what Church is void of some contentious persons and quarrelers, whom no order, no reason, no reformation can please? I should therefore reasonably presume, that this good work in hand is but the second part of Sancta Clara, and a frothy speculation of some few, who by tossing the ball of commendations, the one to the other, do stile themselves (by a kind of canting) ‘judicious divines.’ Whereas they be, generally, as you may observe by this poor pamphleteer, *doctissimorum hominum indoctissimum genus* (as Erasmus spake of another the like) ‘men learned only in unlearned Liturgies;’ beyond that, of no judgement and less divinity. For who but one, whose ‘ruff (as Sir Edward Coke was wont to say) is yellow, and his head shallow,’ would

propound these wild conceits of an imaginary piety of the times, and a platonical idea of a good work in hand, for a model to reform such a well-composed Church as the Church of England? And if any reformation of the name, the situation, or use of the Communion-Table were seriously in hand, what man of the least discretion, but would take the magistrate along with him? The bounden duty of subjects is to be content to follow authority, and not enterprising to run before it. For if you let every minister do what he list, speak what he list, alter what he list and as oft as he list, upon a general pretence of a good work in hand or the piety of the times, you shall have as many kinds of religions as there be parishes, as many sects as ministers, and a church miserably torn in pieces with mutability and diversity of opinions.

* * * * *

—‘ His eighth extravagancy is this; That having conferred with the joiner, which wrought the table upon the which our Saviour Christ celebrated the Supper, he hath found it to be of a more curious composition than we took it for, to wit, of an oval form. Which surely is some addle egg, hatched by the wind of his own imagination. Nor doth he offer to cite any author for it. Nonnus doth seem to call it, indeed, a ‘ circle;’

*Ανεροτατον περι κυκλον ὁμοσεργασιο τραπιζης**

but that is in regard of the Apostles filling of the table, and sitting (as those olive-branches in the psalm) *round about the table*. And so is the verse to be understood, which Turrecremata calls ‘the

verse of the ancient divines,' and Thomas Aquinas
 'the metre-verse:'

*Rex sedit in cœnâ turbâ cinctus duodenâ,
 Se tenet in manibus, se cibât ipse cibus.*

That is,
 The twelve Apostles in a ring
 Sate at the table with their King;
 Who in his hands himself did bring,
 The food and feeder being one thing.

And there was among the ancient Jews a round circular kind of sitting at meat, called in Solomon's *Canticum Canticorum* *σφαιρικαὶ*, having *oicos rotundos*, 'spherical rooms,' with banqueting-beds suitable to the place, as that great critic doth describe them. But this oval form is the Doctor's own invention; and he might challenge, if not a triumph, yet an ovation for the same, could it be handsomely accommodated to the benches, stools, chairs, and other furniture he hath bespoken for his table. For he saith, 'it was compassed round about with beds;' which how it could be about an oval table, that held thirteen (or more, as some are of opinion) but that those of either end must make long arms to reach at their meat, and especially to take the bread from our Saviour's hand, can never be cleared without another bout in geometry, and as long a wrangling about spherical, as we have had already about angular figures. For let these feasting-couches be three, as Scaliger, or four as Casaubon will have it, yet will it pose twenty-four of the neatest gentlemen-ushers about the court to fit them so about an oval table of this diameter, but that some of the guests must suffer a

kind of strappado in their arms, when they reach at their victuals.

‘The last extravagancy (of more vagrancy than any of the rest, as wandering like a gipsy up and down his pamphlet from one end thereof unto the other) is this; That he chargeth all this letter, written to clergymen and them only, to be composed *populo ut placeret*, ‘to please the people.’ And I must confess, it is a heavy case, as you lay it. A fantastical Vicar may not call his Communion-Table ‘an Altar’ as the Papists do, nor change it to an altar of stone without the leave of his superior; but his Ordinary, or this fellow that looks like an Ordinary, must check him for his devotion, and all to curry favour with the multitude or ‘people.’ Nay, the Vicar, though (after that fashion of the ancient Kings of Persia) he hath ears planted in every corner of his church, may not by this domineering fellow be suffered to determine who can hear him, and who not, rather than the deaf adder of the parish, the common ‘people.’ Lastly, this Vicar, being no dull spectator or contemplative piece, but *è meliore luto*, a right blade and of the active mold, cannot thwack these russet-coats as they well deserve, but he must be most basely used and exhorted to peace and charity by this supposed Ordinary, out of a trick ‘to please the people.’ *O literam illiteratissimam!* ‘O letter, fit to make litter of,’ for offering in this sort to pull down the steeple, and wind up the ‘people!’ There is a kind of venom, that makes a man laugh; and of this operation is this part of the libel. Diogenes would fain triumph upon the ambition of Plato, but doth it with a far more swelling ambition. The am-

bition of this text had never been blown up with the blast of the ‘people,’ had it not been for the pride and ambition of the commemorator. It is a certain ‘judicious divine’ had an itching desire to be in print, and to build a new house upon old ruins, carrying this poor letter, like a pageant of conquered countries, to set forth and adorn his triumphal chariot: but for whose (no small) indiscretion, I might have said of this letter, destined to the perusal of a few churchmen of one neighbourhood only, as Aristotle once said either of his physics, as A. Gellius, or metaphysics, as Plutarch conceives it, that it was *ἐκδεδομένη καὶ μὴ ἐκδεδομένη*, ‘published and unpublished,’ before the edition of this railing pamphlet. However the man, we conceive to be aimed at in this malicious passage, hath better reason than Dr. Coal to know, *quàm breves et infaufti populi Romani amores*, ‘how brickle and unlucky a repose it hath been in all ages of the world, for a man to stay himself upon the inconstant multitude!’ And yet if he were a Diocesan (as you seem to make him) he were as very a mad as one ever escaped Bethlem, if he should give way to such a slight and indiscreet churchman, by odd humours and conceits of his own to scandalise the people committed unto him.

*At non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles
Talis erat populo.*————

‘The first Protestants of the Reformation (whom you falsely pretend to imitate) had a better opinion of the common people. We have proved already, and that at large, that the first inducement of King Edward and his most able Council to remove your

Altars, and place Holy Tables, was to root up superstition in the mind of these (by you so much despised) common people. And if you be (I will not say a ‘judicious,’ but) any ‘divine’ at all, how dare your mother’s son in such a State as this, in such a Church as this, and under such a Prince so beloved as this, speak so contemptibly of these so many provisionary saints of God, so many nerves and sinews of the State, so many arms of the King to defend his friends and offend his enemies, as are these, whom (for want of wit) you jeeringly call ‘the poor people?’ This is a kind of lion, which (the more is the pity) often offends; but is not for all that to be lashed by every man’s whip, but by the rod of the prince his accustomed governor. If you have obtained a cure of souls over any people, you are a poor soul yourself, if you conceive them therefore to be your own. I tell you, they are none of yours; they are the King’s, they are God’s people. If you feed them, they feed you, by those settled means which God and the King have provided for you: and being of so proud and ignorant a spirit, as all your pamphlet speaks you, for fear you should despise any admonition of mine, I will lesson you in this point in the words of a National Council: “Because there are but too many that carry no fatherly affection, but a domineering spirit, toward the flock committed to their charge; and, like bladders blown up with the wind of arrogancy, conceive their people to be owned by them, and not by Christ: we would have them listen to their Saviour in the twenty-first of John, ‘If you love me, feed my flock.’ *Meas, inquit, non suas;*” ‘Mine, good Sir, not your flock.’ And therefore it is more than a presumptuous vanity

to slight your neighbours, as if they were your own, when they are none of yours, but God's people.

‘ I will conclude this point with the observation of a heathen man ; *Irasci populo Romano nemo sapienter potest*. You may (when fortune is disposed to make some Christmas sports) prove a great, but you shall never prove a wise or judicious man, by these leers and invectives against the people.’

INIGO JONES.*

[1572—1651.]

INIGO JONES was born about the year 1572, in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, London, of which city his father, Mr. Ignatius Jones, by trade a cloth-worker, was a citizen. At a proper age he was placed apprentice with a joiner, whose business requiring some skill in drawing, was in that respect well suited to his natural genius. He distinguished himself early by his extraordinary progress in the art of designing, and was particularly noticed for his skill in landscape, of which a specimen still exists at Chiswick House. These talents recommended him to that great patron of all liberal sciences, William Earl of Pembroke, at whose expense he visited Italy and the politer parts of Europe, and upon his return home he perfected what he had acquired by diligent application.

During his residence abroad, however, his reputation spread so extensively, that Christian IV. King of Denmark, sent for him from Venice, which had been his chief residence, and where he had studied the works of Palladio, and appointed him his Archi-

* **AUTHORITIES.** *General Biographical Dictionary*, and *British Biography*.

tect-General. He had for some time possessed this honourable post, when his royal master, whose sister Ann had married James I., made a visit to England. Mr. Jones took this opportunity of returning in his train. Upon his arrival,* the Queen appointed him her architect; and not long afterward he was taken, in the same character, into the service of Prince Henry, under whom he discharged his trust with so much ability, that he obtained in recompence the reversion of the surveyership-general of his Majesty's works.

Prince Henry dying in 1612, Jones made a second visit to Italy, and continued there till his reversion fell to him, improving himself farther in his favourite art. Upon this occasion, he displayed an uncommon degree of generosity. The office having through extraordinary occasions, in the time of his predecessor, contracted a debt to the amount of several thousand pounds; he not only offered to serve without remuneration until the encumbrance was removed, but also persuaded his fellow-officers, the Comptroller and Paymaster, to exhibit equal disinterestedness, by which means the whole arrears were speedily discharged.

The King in his progress in 1620 visiting at Wilton, the seat of the Earl of Pembroke, among other subjects introduced an inquiry about Stonehenge;† upon which Mr. Jones, who was well known to have examined ancient buildings and ruins abroad, re-

* Mr. Seward says, his first work after his return was the decoration of the inside of the church of St. Catherine Cree, Leadenhall Street.

† A stupendous pile of stones in the neighbourhood of Wilton, upon Salisbury Plain.

received his Majesty's commands to investigate the subject. In obedience to the royal order, he immediately took an exact measurement of the whole, diligently explored the foundation in order to trace it's original form and aspect, and after much reasoning and a copious adduction of authorities concluded, that it must have been originally a Roman temple dedicated to Cœlus, the senior of the heathen gods, and built after the Tuscan order; probably, between the time of Agricola and that of Constantine the Great. This account he presented to the King in 1620.* In the same year, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for repairing St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

Upon the death of James, he was continued by Charles I. and his consort in his old offices. He had drawn the designs for the palace of Whitehall in the preceding reign, and that part of it, which is denominated the Banqueting House, was now carried into execution. †

In 1633 an order was issued, requiring him to set about the reparation of St. Paul's; and the work was begun soon afterward at the eastern end, the first

* Being left extremely imperfect at his death, it was completed by Mr. Webb, at the desire of Dr. Harvey, Mr. Selden, and others, and published in folio in 1655, under the title of 'Stonehenge Restored.' It is somewhat singular, that almost all the successive colonists of this island have been pronounced the founders of Stonehenge. Sammes claims it for the Phœnicians, Jones and Webb for the Romans, Aubrey for the Britons, Charlton for the Danes, and Bishop Nicholson for the Saxons. Then Dr. Stukeley recommences the round, and assigns it to Phœnicia. Mr. Webb, it may be remarked, beside other works, published also 'An Historical Essay, endeavouring to prove that the language of China is the primitive language.'

† This was first intended for the reception of foreign ambassadors; and the ceiling was painted, some years afterward, by

stone being laid by Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and the fourth by Mr. Jones. In reality, as he was the sole architect, so the design and execution of the work were entrusted entirely to his care ; and having reduced the body of it into order and uniformity from the steeple to the western end, he added a magnificent portico,* a piece of architecture not to be paralleled in modern times. The whole was erected at the expense of Charles I., who adorned it also with statues of his royal father and himself.

While he was raising these noble monuments of his fame as an architect, he gave equal proofs of his talent with respect to the machinery employed in masques and interludes, a species of entertainments at that time extremely in vogue. Several of these representations are still extant in the works of Chapman, Davenant, Daniel, and Jonson.† The subject was chosen by the poet, who also of course composed the speeches and the songs ; but the invention of the scenes, ornaments, and dresses was consigned

the celebrated Rubens. Prints from it, by Simon Gribelin, appeared in 1724. The late Lord Burlington published, in 1740, a north-west view of the palace, where this pavilion appears in it's proper place as a part of that palace, in which there is seen a noble circular portico, originally suggested probably (as Stukeley supposes) by that of Stonehenge.

* This portico Mr. Walpole censures, as incongruous with the ancient parts remaining, and giving additional heaviness to his own bad Gothic. At Winchester likewise, by a similar error, he obtruded a screen in the Roman or Grecian taste into the middle of the cathedral. He was by no means successful, indeed, when he attempted Gothic.

† In Jonson's masque of 'Judas,' the first scene exhibiting a hell, which blazed and smoked to the roof, probably furnished Milton with the first hint of his Pandæmonium ; as he is, traditionally, said to have been indebted for it to some theatrical representation invented by Inigo Jones.

to Mr. Jones. About the year 1614, occurred a quarrel between him and Jonson, which provoked the latter to ridicule his associate under the character of ‘Lantern Leatherhead, a hobby-horse seller,’ in his comedy of *Bartholomew Fair*. And the rupture seems only to have been closed with the poet’s death: a few years before which, in 1635, with professional irritability he wrote a virulent and coarse satire, entitled ‘An Expostulation with Inigo Jones;’ ‘An Epigram to a Friend;’ and also a third, inscribed to ‘Inigo, Marquis Would-be.’

These sarcasms, however, were not approved at court, as we learn from the following passage in a letter from Howell to Jonson: “I heard you censured lately at court, that you have lighted too bad upon Sir Inigo, and that you write with a porcupine’s quill dipped in too much gall. Excuse me, that I am so free with you; it is because I am yours in no common way of friendship.” But Jonson not attending properly to this hint, his friend addressed to him a second epistle* informing him, that ‘he had lost

* In consequence of this second expostulation, Jonson suppressed his satire. It has been since printed, however, from a manuscript of the late Mr. Vertue, and is inserted in the edition of his works published in 1756, in 7 vols. 8vo. Jones, it appears, had made some attempts in the poetical way, either in the business of masques, or otherwise; and this intrusion into the poet’s province had raised the spleen of old Ben. One principal stroke of ridicule, indeed, bestowed upon Lantern consists in the title of ‘Parcel-Poet.’ A copy of verses from his pen is published in the ‘*Odcombian Banquet*’ prefixed to ‘*Ceryate’s Crudities*,’ in 1611, 4to. beginning

‘*Odd is the Combe from whence this Cock did come,
That crow’d in Venice ’gainst the skinless Jews, &c.*’

But it is not worth reprinting.

some ground at court by it; the King, who had so great a judgement in poetry (as in all other things else!) not being pleased therewith.*

In the mean time Mr. Jones, from the encouragement which he received at court, acquired a handsome fortune.* But it was much impaired by losses sustained in consequence of his loyalty; for, as he had shared his royal master's prosperity, so he did not shrink from sharing his misfortunes. Upon the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640, he was summoned before the House of Peers, on a complaint exhibited against him by the parishioners of St. Gregory's, for damages done to their church in repairing St. Paul's. That church being extremely old, and standing very near to the Cathedral, had been taken down by him, pursuant to the King's direction and an Order of Council, in 1639. In answer to this complaint, he pleaded the general issue; and, when the repairs of the Cathedral were completed in 1642, some part of the remaining materials were by direction of the House of Lords delivered to the complainants toward the rebuilding of the edifice in question. The prosecution, however, involved him in no inconsiderable expense; and as he was both a royalist and a Roman Catholic, in 1646 he paid 545*l.* for his double delinquency. Both he, and Stone the statuary and architect, as we

* His fee as Surveyor was 8*s.* 4*d.* *per* day, with an allowance of 46*l.* *per ann.* for house-rent, beside a clerk and incidental expenses. The Earl of Pembroke says, in some MS. Notes upon 'Stonehenge restored,' that "he had 16,000*l.* *per ann.* for keeping the King's houses in repair." This is, probably, exaggerated, Jones built the noble front of Wilton House; and, as Walpole conjectures, some disagreement took place upon that occasion between him and his noble employer.

learn from Walpole, buried their joint stock of ready money in Scotland Yard; but an order having been published to encourage the communicaters of such concealments, and four persons being privy to this transaction, it was taken up, and re-interred in Lambeth Marsh.

Upon the Restoration, Jones was continued in his post by Charles II. But it was then only an empty title, nor did he survive long enough to render it productive. Misfortunes and age put a period to his life at Somerset House, July 21, 1651; and he was buried in the church of St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharf. The monument, erected to his memory, perished in the fire of London.

Inigo Jones was not only the greatest of English architects, but the most eminent of his profession at that time in Europe. He is generally stiled 'the British Vitruvius;' and Mr. Webb, who knew him well and was his heir, asserts that his abilities in all human sciences surpassed most of his age. He had a familiar knowledge of mathematics, and particularly excelled in geometry. Neither was he unacquainted with the two learned languages, Greek and Latin: and Sir Anthony Vandyke used to observe of him, that 'in designing with his pen he was not to be equalled by any great masters of his time for the boldness, softness, sweetness, and sureness of his touches.'* Among the principal works of this great master are the following:

* A collection of them was engraved by Mr. Kent in 2 vols. folio, in 1727, and some smaller designs in 1744. Others were published by Mr. Ware, in 1743, in quarto: and a copy of Palladio's Architecture, with MSS. notes by Jones, is in the library of Worcester College, Oxford.

The Banqueting House, Whitehall: Barber's Hall, in Monkwell-street, London: The New Buildings fronting the gardens, at Somerset House: The church* and piazza of Covent Garden: Lincoln's Inn Fields. This fine square was originally laid out by the masterly hand of Inigo; and it is said, that the sides of it are the exact measure of the great pyramid of Egypt. It was intended to have been completed in an uniform stile; but there were not a sufficient number of people of taste to accomplish so vast a work. The new Quadrangle of St. John's College, Oxford: the Queen's Chapel, St. James's: Shaftesbury House, late the Lying-In Hospital in Aldersgate Street: the garden-front of Wilton House, with some other parts of that noble edifice: the Queen's House at Greenwich: the Grange in Hampshire, the seat of the Earl of Northington: Cashio-bury, in Hertfordshire: Gunnersbury, near Brentford, Middlesex: Coleshill, Berks: Cobham Hall, Kent, &c. &c.

* This has, recently, been destroyed by fire.

DR. WILLIAM HARVEY.*

 [1578—1657.]

THIS celebrated physician was the eldest son of Thomas Harvey, a gentleman of Folkstone in Kent, at which place he was born April 1, 1578.† At ten years of age, he was sent to the Grammar School, Canterbury; whence, in May 1593, he removed to Caius College, Cambridge. After spending six years in the study of logic and natural philosophy, as a proper foundation for that of physic, he travelled abroad; attended at Padua the lectures of Fabricius of Acquapendente on anatomy, of Minadous on medical pharmacy, and of Casserius on chirurgery; and, having taken under those distinguished professors the degree of M. D. at twenty-four, returned to his native country, and graduating at his own University, immediately commenced practice in London. In his thirtieth year, he was chosen a Fellow of the College of Physicians, and soon afterward was elected Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

In 1615, he was appointed to read the anatomy

* AUTHORITIES. *Biographia Britannica*, *British Biography*, and the Life prefixed to his Works in 1766 by Dr. Laurence.

† Chalmers says, 'April 2, 1569;' which makes his age at his death eighty-eight.

and chirurgery-lectures founded by Lumley and Caldwell. And it was probably upon this occasion, that he first proposed his sentiments concerning the office of the Heart, and the Circulation of the Blood. For, in an anatomical treatise drawn up about that time, and still extant in his own hand-writing, the chief principles of his great discovery are to be found. In his first lectures, however, he only hinted his sentiments upon the subject: but when he had subsequently, with a degree of patience and caution peculiarly characteristic of sound philosophy, examined his hypothesis more thoroughly, and confirmed it by numerous and repeated experiments, he in 1628 published at Frankfort (for the sake of more prompt diffusion over the Continent) his '*Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus.*' Of this book, whether we consider the importance of it's subject, the clearness of it's method, or the strength of it's reasoning, we may truly assert, that there is scarcely any treatise on a similar topic to be compared with it.*

The discovery was of the highest importance in the whole art of physic. But it was not only the destroyer of the Hydra, who 'found envy only to be subdued by death.' No man, who has at any time attained eminence, has escaped the attacks of that malignant fiend. Improvements in arts or

* It had a double dedication; to Charles I., and to the College of Physicians. In the latter he observes, that 'he had frequently before in his Anatomical Lectures declared his new opinion concerning the motion and use of the Heart and the Circulation of the Blood, and for above nine years had confirmed and illustrated it before the College by reasons and arguments grounded upon ocular demonstration, and defended it from the objections of the most skillful anatomists.'

sciences have, generally, been viewed with a jealous eye by the bulk of their professors: and accordingly this new theory brought upon it's author many hostilities, even among the members of his own profession. Their several attempts to refute it were, indeed, without success: but some of his antagonists seem to have been mean enough to endeavour to obstruct him in his private practice; for he complained, it appears, to one of his friends,* that he was much less frequently called to visit the sick, after he had published his book.

His adversaries may be divided into two large classes: of which one endeavoured to prove his hypothesis false; while the other, admitting it to be well-founded, asserted that he was not it's original discoverer. Among his earliest opponents, Amylius Parisanus, a Venetian, was answered by Sir George Ent,† between whom and Harvey subsisted a great friendship, in his '*Apologia pro Sanguinis Circulatione.*' To the attack of Riolanus a French anatomist, who sent him his '*Enchiridion Anatomicum,*' he himself replied, in his '*Exercitationes Anatomicæ Duce de Circulatione Sanguinis, ad J. Riolanum J. Filium.*'

Of the second division, Vander Linden‡ took con-

* This Letter is preserved in a MS. extant in the Library of the Royal Society, entitled 'Memoirs of several Remarks in the County of Wilts, &c. by Mr. John Aubrey, R. S. S. 1685.'

† This gentleman, of a Dutch family, was born at Sandwich, studied at Padua, became President of the College of Physicians, and was knighted by Charles II.

‡ He published an edition of Hippocrates about the middle of the seventeenth century. In later days, Dr. William Hunter seems to have stood alone in his attempt to depreciate Harvey's

siderable pains to prove, that it was known to Hippocrates: some again contended, that it belonged to Galen:* others claimed it for Michael Servetus; and a fourth set for Columbus, an anatomist; while Bayle confidently affirmed, with a copious adduction of quotations, that it was known to Cæsalpinus.† The

merit. See the ‘Two Introductory Lectures to his last Course,’ 4to., 1784.

* This was chiefly done by Primrosius, a Frenchman of Scottish extraction, and a pupil of Riolanus; as he himself asserted, *γυμνασιως, ingenii scilicet exercendi causâ!* Of him, however, Harvey disdained to take any notice. Plempius, a Professor of Louvain, more candid than dealers in controversy usually are, after convicting himself by his own experiments, became a convert to his opponent.

† It has been clearly shown by Dr. Freind, in his ‘History of Physic,’ as well as by others, that the passages cited in no respect answer the purpose for which they were produced. To Nemesius Bishop of Emissa likewise, who wrote a Treatise concerning ‘the Nature of Man’ near the end of the fourth century, his Oxford editor ascribes the discovery, not only of the system of the bile (which Sylvius de la Boë, with so much vanity, arrogated to himself) but also of the Circulation of the Blood: but Freind after producing the passage referred to, expressly affirms, that this venerable writer had no idea of it whatever. He admits, indeed, that Columbus most clearly (and much more fully than his contemporary Servetus) shows, how by the contraction and dilatation of the heart and the mechanism of it’s vessels the blood circulates through the lungs from the Cava to the Aorta, and thence into all the parts of the body; but he proves, farther, that though an excellent anatomist, he did not in the least comprehend the communication between the arteries and the veins: for “beside that he assigns the carrying of vital spirits only to the arteries, in another discourse he tells us, that the veins convey the blood from the liver to all the parts of the body!” “Cæsalpinus, it is true, drops the word *Anastomosis* (copying perhaps from Servetus, *De Trinitate*, V., whose word it is), by which he supposes the native heat may pass from the arteries to the veins; but this in the time of sleep

honour of the discovery was, also, attributed to the

only: and from the sentence immediately following it is plain, that he had no notion of the circular progress of the blood; for he makes it only move like an ‘Euripus,’ the very word he uses, in a sort of undulating motion from one extremity of the vessel to the other, which is in fact the precise idea Hippocrates himself had of it; and Acquapendente, in direct terms, describes the blood as circulating by way of flux and reflux in the arteries. Were we, indeed, to reason from what these writers say concerning the Circulation of the Blood, both through the heart and through the lungs into the Aorta, the conclusion would demonstrably be, that the blood which goes into the Aorta must return back into the Cava: else how could the constant current, which by their own account runs through the heart and lungs, be maintained? But it is as demonstrable, that they did not perceive this consequence, though naturally and necessarily following from their own principles. Neither is this so much to be wondered at: for it was as possible that Columbus and Cæsalpinus should go so far and no further, as that Acquapendente should discover and describe the valves of the veins, and yet be at the same time ignorant of the true use of them! To this discovery, however, of his great master Harvey himself ingenuously attributed the first glimpse which he had of his own: and thus was he enabled to extend the theory of the circulation, which, as far as related to the transmission of the blood through the lungs, was previously known by many, to the whole of the system.

Servetus, whose fifth book on the Trinity has been alluded to above, for the purpose of illustrating this dark and difficult subject, observes: “*Vitalis spiritus in sinistro cordis ventriculo suam originem habet, juvenilibus maxime pulmonibus ad ipsius generationem. Est spiritus tenuis caloris vi elaboratus, flavo colore, igneâ potentia, ut sit quasi ex puriore sanguine lucens vapor, substantiam in se continens aquæ, aëris, et ignis. Generatur ex factâ in pulmonibus mixture inspirati aëris cum elaborato subtili sanguine, quem dexter ventriculus cordis sinistro comunicat. Fit autem communicatio hæc non per parietem cordis mediâ, ut vulgò creditur: sed magno artificio à dextro cordis ventriculo, longo per pulmones ductu, agitatur sanguis subtilis, à pulmonibus præparatur, fluxus ejicitur, et à Venâ Arteriosâ ad Arteriam Venosam transfunditur;*

celebrated Father Paul.* This was occasioned by the following incident: the Venetian ambassador in England, being presented by Dr. Harvey with his manuscript work on the Circulation of the Blood, upon his return to Venice lent it to that illustrious Jesuit, who transcribed from it's pages the most remarkable particulars: and his papers, after his death falling into the hands of less enlightened executors, gave rise to the report. But Harvey received letters from

deinde in ipsâ Arteriâ Venosâ inspirato aëre miscetur, et expiratione à fuligine repurgatur, atque ita tandem per diastolen attrahitur, apta suppellex ut fiat spiritus vitalis." He then proceeds to establish the transmission of the blood from the right to the left ventricle through the lungs. But as he assigns no cause for the propulsion of the blood into the *Arteria Venosa*, says nothing about the muscular power of the heart in that function, is silent about the office of the valves which prevent it's return, and alleges no other reasons for believing that it is transmitted through the lungs (for he does not attempt to prove the communication of the *Vena Arteriosa* with the *Arteria Venosa*) except that more blood passes to the lungs from the heart than is necessary for their especial support, his statements appear to partake the nature less of a demonstration than of a dream. He even places with Galen (and in this he was supported by Columbus, whose system of anatomy made it's appearance at Venice in 1559) *the source of the blood in the liver!* In some respects, however, Columbus (by a sort of lucky casualty) was more correct; though he also denied the muscular character of the heart, and stated no experiment to establish the connexion of the *Vena Arteriosa* with the *Arteria Venosa*. But some time afterward we find Cæsalpinus treading very nearly in the same steps, and equally ignorant of the causes of the motion of the blood, and equally destitute of experiments to prove it's transmission through the lungs from the right to the left ventricle of the heart.

* Of this opinion, Honoratus Faber professed himself to be the author; alleging that 'Sarpi, being already too much suspected of heterodoxy, durst not make his hypothesis public from his apprehensions of the Inquisition.'

Fra. Fulgentio, the most intimate friend of Father Paul, which placed his right beyond a doubt. Upon the whole, we may conclude in the words of Dr. Freind, "As this great discovery* was entirely owing to our countryman, so he has explained it with all the clearness imaginable: and though much has been written upon that subject, I may venture to say, his own book is the shortest, the plainest, and the most convincing of any; as we may be satisfied, if we look into the many apologies written in defence of the Circulation."

In 1623, letters were granted by James I., permitting Dr. Harvey to attend his Majesty as the Physicians in Ordinary did, with a promise that he should succeed to that office upon the first vacancy. He was subsequently, in 1630, appointed Physician to Charles I. Thus was he compensated for the reluctance, with which his theory was admitted, by the favourable regard of his Sovereigns. Charles in particular, who had a taste for the curiosities of science as well as of art, used frequently with his courtiers to witness Harvey's experiments and dissections; and, by furnishing him with a number of birds in different stages of gestation, essentially aided his inquiries. He, likewise, nominated him to accompany the young Duke of Lenox † on his travels:

* Upon the discovery itself, and it's importance in medicine (which Freind proceeds largely to discuss) Grainger simply observes, that "it is perhaps impossible to define health and sickness in fewer words, than that the one is a free, and the other an obstructed circulation."

† Upon this occasion, the Trustees of St. Bartholomew's Hospital permitted him to appoint Dr. Smith his deputy. On his return, as his duty to the King required his frequent absence, Dr. Andrews was elected in his place, but he still continued to receive his stipend as before.

and it is probable, that he enjoined his attendance upon himself on his journey to Scotland in 1633, as Harvey has from his own view given a most lively description of that great resort of sea-fowl, the Bass Island. At the breaking out of the civil war, he remained attached both by office and affection to Charles I.; and, after the battle of Edge-Hill, proceeded with the rest of the household to Oxford. He was there incorporated M. D., in 1642; and three years afterward, created by the King's mandate Warden of Merton College, in the room of Dr. Nathaniel Brent, who deserting the royal party had taken the Covenant, and left the University: but, upon the surrender of that city in 1646 to the parliamentary forces, he relinquished his office to his predecessor, and passed his time privately in the neighbourhood of the metropolis.*

In 1651, at Ent's request, he published his '*Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium: quibus accedunt quædam de Partu, de Membranis ac Humoribus Uteri, et de Conceptione.*' This valuable work, of which the general inference is, the universal prevalence of oval generation, was rendered less perfect by the abstraction of some of his papers. For, though he had permission to attend the King upon his leaving Whitehall, his house in London during his absence was plundered of its furniture; and his '*Adversaria*,' with a number of anatomical observations especially respecting the generation of insects, to his deep concern and the heavy loss of posterity irrecoverably perished.

Dr. Harvey had the happiness to see his great

* He had a villa himself at Lambeth, and one of his brothers (five of whom were Turkey merchants) resided chiefly in a house near Richmond.

doctrine generally received. And, in 1652, a statue was erected to his honour by the College of Physicians; inscribed

GUILIELMO HARVEIO

Viro monumentis suis immortalis

Hoc insuper Collegium Medicorum Londinense

Posuit

Qui enim Sanguini Motum

ut et

Animalibus Ortum dedit meruit esse

Stator Perpetuus.

Two years afterward, on the resignation of Dr. Prujean, he was during his absence chosen their President; an office however which, upon account of his age and weakness, he declined to accept. As he had no children, he settled his paternal inheritance upon them. He had three years before built them in their own garden a room for their meetings, and a library or museum filled with choice books and surgical instruments; and, in 1656, he presented to them the deeds of his patrimonial estate of 56*l.* per ann. He was then present at the first feast instituted by himself to be continued annually with a commemoration-speech in Latin, in honour of the benefactors of the College. After having endured many infirmities for several years, he died June 3, 1657, at the advanced age of eighty, and was interred in the chapel of Hempsted belonging to the church of Great Samford in Essex, where a monument with the following inscription was erected to his memory:*

* It has been reported, that finding himself deprived of his sight, he drank a glass of opium, and expired soon afterward: but the tranquillity and self-possession, with which he encoun-

GUILIELMUS HARVEIUS

Cui tam colendo nomini assurgunt omnes Academiae,
 Qui diurnum Sanguinis Motum post tot annorum
 Millia primus invenit

Orbi salutem sibi immortalitatem
 consecutus

Qui Ortum et Generationem Animalium solus omnium
 à pseudophilosophiâ liberavit
 cui debet

Quod sibi innotuit humanum genus seipsam **Medicina**
 Seren. Majest. Jacobo et Carolo Britannorum Monarchiæ
 Archiater et clarissimus

Colleg. Med. Lond. Anatomies et Chirurgiæ Professor
 Assiduus et Felicissimus

Quibus illustrem construxit Bibliothecam
 Suoque dotavit et ditavit patrimonio
 Tandem

• Post triumphales

Contemplando sanando inveniando
 sudores

Varias domi forisque statuas quum totum circuit
 Microcosmum Medicinæ Doctor ac Medicorum
 Improles obdormivit

III Jun. Ann. Salutis MDCXLVIII Aet. LXXV
 annorum et famæ satur
 Resurgemus.

Dr. Harvey was not only eminently learned in the sciences more immediately connected with his profession, but well versed also in other branches of literature. He was deeply read in ancient and modern

tered death, seem sufficiently to refute this calumny. Entius himself says, *Pessâ tandem fractâque senectute funeri suo propinquus, rerumque aliarum omnium securus, pulsuum suorum rhythmos explorabat; ut qui vivus valensque vitæ exordia, ejusdemque progressus, alios docuisset, ipsemet jam denascens mortis præludia addisceret. Tandemque octogesimum annum emensus die, qui tertius præteriti mensis erat, occubuo sole placidissimo animo mortalitatem exiit, fatique necessitatem implevit.*

history; and when he was wearied with too close an attention to the study of nature, he would relax his mind by discoursing with his friends on political subjects, and the state of public affairs. He took great pleasure in perusing some of the ancient poets, and especially Virgil, with whose works he was exceedingly delighted.* He was laboriously studious, regular, and virtuous in his life, and had a strong sense of religion. In his familiar conversation, there was a mixture of gravity and cheerfulness: he expressed himself with great perspicuity, and with much grace and dignity; and he was eminent for his candor and moderation. He never endeavoured to detract from the merit of other men; but appeared always to think, that their virtues were to be imitated, and not envied: and in the controversy, which was occasioned by his discovery of the Circulation, he seemed much more solicitous to discover truth, than to obtain fame. In the latter part of his life, though always extremely temperate, he was heavily afflicted with the gout. He married the daughter of Launcelot Browne, M. D., in 1604, but had no children by her. In his testamentary arrangement, he bequeathed the principal part of his remaining estate to his brother, Eliab Harvey; his personal property, distributively, to his other relations; and his books to the College.

Of his remaining writings, there have been printed an 'Account of the Dissection of Old Parr,' and some Epistles to foreign physicians. The editions of his treatises on the Circulation, and on Generation, are very numerous.

* "He would sometimes throw him down upon the table, and say 'He had a devil.'" (TEMPLE, *Of Poetry*.)

A correct edition of his works, in quarto, was published by the College of Physicians in 1766, with a Life of him drawn up by the pen of Dr. Laurence.* From this Volume (of which the Latinity, always clear and flowing, becomes occasionally eloquent, wherever the subject admits of ornament) is transcribed, as at once a specimen of his stile, and a narrative of a very extraordinary case in chirurgery, the subjoined Extract.

— ‘ *Circuitum Sanguinis admirabilem, à me jampridem inventum, video propemodùm omnibus pluisse; nec ab aliquo quidpiam hactenus objectum esse, quod responsum magnoperè mereatur: quapropter, si Circuitus illius causas et utilitates addidero, aliaque Sanguinis arcana exposuero; quantoperè scilicet mortalium felicitatis intersit, animaque pariter ac corpori conducat, ut probâ victus ratione Sanguinem purum ac nitidum conservent;*

* I cannot withhold from the classical reader the conclusion of this elegant piece of biography: *Quid de Causâ rerum omnium Efficiente Primâ censuerit, nam Harveii pietas minimè prætereunda est, quantâ veneratione atque admiratione Supremum hunc suspexerit, non uno loco verbis gravissimis profitetur. Cuncta Dei Omnipotentis manu facta, ejusdemque providentiâ conservata, dicit; nec tamen lege generali, sed Numine per universam rerum naturam infuso res singulas administrari. Nec veretur, ut minutus ille apud Ciceronem philosophus, Divinam Majestatem ad apum formicarumque perfectionem deducere: siquidem Deus Maximus Omnipotensque in rebus minimis, quæ non sine singulari providentiâ atque sapientiâ fiunt, clarissimè conspicitur. Cuncta animalia, Patre atque Creatore Deo præsentè facta dicit, nec quidquam sine Numine fieri posse putat: nihil à philosopho, nihil ab homine Christiano, de his rebus aut gravius aut verius dici potest.*

crediderim sanè me non magis novam quam utilem gratamque operam philosophis medicisque præstiturum; nec sententiam hanc tam improbabilem et absurdam cuiquam atque olim Aristoteli visum iri: Sanguinem nempe, instar laris familiaris, esse animam ipsam in corpore, veluti Critias olim aliique arbitrabantur; existimantes, sentire maximè proprium esse animæ, atque hoc inesse propter Sanguinis naturam. Alii verò id animam esse statuebant, quòd suâ naturâ vim movendi obtineret; ut Thales, Diogenes, Heraclitus, Alcmaeon, aliique.

‘Utrumque autem, sensum scilicet et motum, Sanguini inesse, plurimis indicîis fit conspicuum: etiamsi Aristoteles id negaverit. Enimverò, si is veritate coactus fateatur ‘inesse ovo, etiam subventaneo, animam; et in geniturâ ac sanguine reperiri divinum quid, respondens elemento stellarum; esseque omnipotentis Creatoris vicarium:’ si neoterici quidam verè dicant, ‘animalium semen coitu emissum esse animatum;’ quidni pari ratione affirmemus animam esse in Sanguine; cumque hic primò ingeneretur, nutriatur, et moveatur, ex eodem quoque animam primum excitari et ignescere? Certè Sanguis est, in quo vegetativæ et sensitivæ operationes primò elucent; cui calor, primum et immediatum animæ instrumentum, innascitur; qui corporis animæque commune vinculum est; et quo vehiculo anima omnibus totius corporis partibus influit.

‘Præterea, cùm tam ardua sit, ut nuper vidimus, genituræ contemplatio; quomodo, nempe ab illâ, cum providentiâ, arte, et intellectu divino, corporis fabrica exstruatur: cur non æquo jure Sanguinis naturam eximiam suspiciamus, idemque de eo quod de semine cogitemus; præsertim, cùm

genitura ipsa, ut de ovo constat, à sanguine fiat; totumque corpus inde, tanquam à parte genitali, non modo originem suam ducere, sed etiam conservari videatur.

‘ Atque hæc quidem obiter super eâ re diximus; de eâdem alibi uberius et accuratius disceptaturi. Neque hîc disputandum censes, Utrum partis definitio Sanguini propriè conveniat? quod quidam negant, his maxime argumentis persuasi, quia non sentit, et quia in singulas corporis partes influit, ut alimentum iis præstet idoneum. Ego verò non pauca circa generationis modum invenni, quibus motus iis, quæ philosophi et medici vulgò vel aiunt vel negant, contrarium statuam. Id nunc solùm dicam; licet concedamus Sanguinem non sentire, inde tamen non sequitur cum non esse corporis sensitivi partem, eamque præcipuam. Neque enim cerebrum, medulla spinalis, aut crystallinus vitreusque oculi humor quidquam sentiunt; eas tamen corporis partes esse, philosophi medicique omnes hodie uno ore confitentur. Aristoteles autem Sanguinem inter partes similes recensuit: et Hippocrates etiam, dum corpus animale ex partibus continentibus, contentis, et impetum facientibus constituit, Sanguinem necessariò inter contentas agnovit.

‘ Verùm hæc de re plenius agetur, cum de parte, quid sit, et quot modis dicatur, disceptabimus. Interea temporis experimentum hoc admirabile, unde cor ipsum, membrum scilicet principalissimum, insensibile appareat, non reticebimus.

‘ Nobilissimus adolescens et illustrissimi Vicecomitis de Montegomero in Hiberniâ filius primogenitus, cum adhuc puer esset, ingens ex insperato lapsu nactus est infortunium, costarum nempe sinis-

tri lateris fracturam. Abscessus suppuratus magnam tabi quantitatem profudit, saniesque diu è cavitate amplissimâ manavit; uti ipse mihi, aliique qui aderant fide digni, narrârunt. Is, circa annum ætatis sue decimum octavum aut decimum nonum, per Galliam et Italiam peregrinabatur, indeque Londinum appulit. Interea verò per amplum hiatus in pectore apertum gestabat; adeò ut pulmones, uti creditum est, in eo cernere ac tangere liceret. Id cum Serenissimo Regi Carolo ceu miraculum nunciaretur, me statim, ut quid rei esset perspicerem, ad adolescentem misit. Quid factum? Cum primùm accederem, videremque juvenem vegetum, et aspectu quoque habituque corporis laudabili præditum, aliquid secus utque opportuit nuntiatum arbitrabar. Præmissâ autem, ut mos est, salutatione debitâ, expositâque ex mandato Regis cum ad eundem causâ, omnia illicò patefecit, nudamque lateris sinistri partem mihi aperuit; ablatâ scilicet lamellâ, quam tunc gratiâ adversus ictus aliasque injurias externas gestabat. Vidi protinùs ingentem pectoris cavitatem, in quam faciliè tres meos priores digitos unâ cum pollice immitterem: simulque in primo ejus ingressu partem quandam carnosam protuberantem, reciprocoque extrorsùm introrsùmque motu agitâtam deprehendi, manuque cautè tractavi. Attonitus rei novitate, iterum iterumque exploro omnia; et, cum diligenter satis investigata essent, certum erat ulcus antiquum et per amplum, citra medici periti auxilium, miraculi instar, ad sanitatem perductum esse, partemque interiore membranâ vestitum, et per marginis ambitum firmâ cute manitum. Partem autem carnosam (quam ego primo intuitu carnem aliquam luxuriantem credideram, aliique omnes pul-

monis partem judicabant) ex pulsu ejusque differentiis seu rhythmo (utrisque manibus carpo et cordi simul admotis), et ex respirationis collatione planè persperi non pulmonis lobum aliquem, sed cordis conum esse; quem caro fungosa excrescens (ut in sordidis ulceribus fieri solet) exterius, muniminis instar, obtegebat. Concamerationem istam à subnascentibus sordibus adolescentis famulus injectionibus tepidis quotidie liberabat, laminamque imponebat: quo facto herus sanus, et ad quælibet exercitia ac itinera promptus, tutò et jucundè vitam degebat.

‘ Responsi vice igitur, adolescentem ipsum ad serenissimum Regem deduxi, ut rem admirabilem et singularem propriis ipse manibus tractaret atque oculis intueretur: nempe, in homine vivente et regeto, citra ullam offensam, cor sese vibrans, ventriculosque ejus pulsantes videret ac manu tangeret. Factumque est, ut Serenissimus Rex, unà mecum, cor sensu tactus privatum esse agnosceret. Quippe adolescens nos ipsum tangere, nisi visu aut cutis exterioris sensatione, neutiquam intelligebat.

‘ Simul cordis ipsius motum observavimus, nempe illud in diastole introrsum subduci et retrahi, in systole verò emergere denuò et protrudi: fierique in corde systolen, quo tempore diastole in carpe percipiebatur, atque proprium cordis motum et functionem esse systolen: denique, cor tunc pectus ferire et prominulum esse, cum erigitur sursum et in se contrahitur.’

JOHN SELDEN.*

[1584—1654.]

THIS illustrious scholar, who on various accounts has been denominated ‘the Glory of England,’ was descended from a good family, and born at Salvington † near Terring, in Sussex, December 16, 1584. He was educated at the Free School in Chichester, under Mr. Hugh Barker of New College, and in 1598 sent to Hart Hall, Oxford, where he continued about four years. In 1602, he entered himself of Clifford’s Inn, in order to study the law; and between two and three years afterward removed to the Inner Temple, where he speedily acquired great reputation by his learning. Here, in 1606, he drew up his ‘*Analecta Anglo-Britannica*,’ or Chronological Summary of English History down to the Conquest; a work,

* AUTHORITIES. Wood’s *Athene Oxonienses*, Wilkins’ *Life of Selden*, and Nicholson’s *English Historical Library*.

† “Over what was once the front of the house, which was called Lacies, was discovered on removing a shelf this inscription, written by him at ten years old, which I give as I find it on an anonymous paper in my hands, copied 1721;

Gratus, honeste, mihi; non claudir: inito, sedebis.

Fur, abeas; non sem facta soluta tibi.

and to be seen, when Dr. Wilkins wrote his life.”

(Gough’s *Camden*, Ed. 1806, I. 291.)

which bore honourable testimony at once to the variety of his acquisitions and the powers of his mind. It did not appear however till 1616, when it was published at Frankfort. His first intimacies were with Cotton, Spelman, Camden, and Usher, all of them learned in antiquities; which was, also, his own favourite object. In 1610, he distinguished himself by two publications of this description: ‘England’s *Epinomis*,’ and ‘*Jani Anglorum facies altera*,’ beside his ‘*De Duello*, or, Of Single Combat.’ Two years afterward, he published Notes and Illustrations on the first eighteen songs in his friend Drayton’s ‘*Poly-Olbion* ;’ and, in 1613, wrote verses in Greek, Latin, and English upon Browne’s ‘*Britannia’s Pastorals* ;’ which, with other introductory poems, occasioned Suckling to give him a place in his ‘*Session of the Poets*.’* In the year following appeared the most known and esteemed of his English labours, his ‘*Titles of Honour* ;’ a volume which, “as to what concerns our nobility and gentry,” says Bishop Nicholson, “all will allow ought first to be perused, for the gaining a general notion of the distinction of a degree, from an emperor down to a country gentleman.” In 1616, he published his ‘*Notes on Fortescue’s valuable Treatise ‘De Laudibus Legum Angliæ* ;’” and, in 1617, his ‘*De Diis Syris Syntagmata Duo*,’ which was reprinted at Leyden in 1629, after it had been revised and enlarged by the author. The primary object of this performance was, to treat on the heathen deities mentioned in the Old Testament; but he extended it to an inquiry into the Syrian idolatry in general,

* See the Extracts.

with occasional illustrations of the theology of other nations. About the same time, likewise, he wrote a dissertation on the state of the Jews formerly living in England, which was inserted in Purchas' 'Collection of Voyages.'

Selden was now not more than thirty-three years of age: yet he had shown himself an acute philologist, a profound antiquary, an able herald, and an accurate linguist; and his name was so highly advanced, even in foreign countries, that he had actually become, what he was afterward stiled, 'the Great Dictator of Learning of the English nation.' In 1618, his 'History of Tithes' made its appearance, in the preface to which he reproaches the clergy with ignorance and laziness, with "having nothing to keep up their credit, but beard,* title, and habit, their studies not reaching farther than the breviary, the postils, and polyanthea."† In the work itself he contends, that 'tithes under Christianity are not due by divine right,' though he allows 'the right to them, like that to all other property, to be founded upon the laws of the land.' This book, though at first licensed at Lambeth, quickly gave great offence to the clergy,‡ and was animadverted upon by several writers; particularly by Dr. Richard Montagu, subsequently Bishop of Chichester and Norwich, Dr. Tillesley, and Mr. Nettles. The author was also

* If the clergy were bearded, so were also the King and courtiers. T. F. (Nichols' *Anecdotes*.)

† What were these to a Protestant clergy? T. F. (*Ibid.*)

‡ They afterward, however, admitted the justice of his argument, as Wotton has fully acknowledged. Selden was called 'an Erastian' upon this account, from Erastus a Swiss physician of little celebrity, who wished to inhibit the ecclesiastical power from civil jurisdiction.

called before the High-Commission Court, and obliged to express his concern for having published a book, by which he had unintentionally given offence, though he did not recant any thing contained in it's pages.

James I. indeed, it is said, offended by his having stepped beyond the line of his profession, forbade his writing in reply to any of his opponents. The royal displeasure, however, could not have been very heavy; as, observing a doubt suggested in his 'History' respecting the true date of Christ's nativity, he requested him more fully to investigate the matter. The result of his very profound inquiry, presented in less than a month to his Sovereign, was given to the public, under the title of *Θεολογικὸς*, in 1661.*

In 1621, his Majesty having imprisoned several noble members of his uncomplying parliament who had protested against the doctrine held forth in one of his speeches, that 'all their boasted privileges were originally only grants from the crown,' ordered Selden likewise to be committed to the custody of the Sheriff of London; as, on being consulted upon the subject, he had given his opinion very strongly in opposition to the court. By the interest, however, of the Lord Keeper Williams† (and, perhaps, of Bishop Andrews) he, with the rest, was set at liberty in five weeks. To this wanton stretch of arbitrary power, and to his recollection of the proceedings of the High-Commission Court, may be attributed the persevering resistance, which he invariably from this time manifested to the measures of the royalists. In 1623,

* See the Extracts.

† In gratitude for this kind mediation, he dedicated to Williams, in 1623, his 'History of Eadmer,' a monk of Canterbury, which he had revised in prison.

he was chosen a burgess for Lancaster; and, in the first two parliaments of Charles I., for Great Bedwin in Wiltshire. In the former of these, he declared himself warmly against the Duke of Buckingham; and upon that nobleman's impeachment in 1626, was the first person chosen on the Committee to prepare and manage the articles against him. The trial, however, was frustrated by a dissolution of the accusing assembly.

In 1627, he was counsel for Hampden; and in Charles' third parliament was again elected for Lancaster, and had a considerable hand in fixing that great boundary to regal prerogative, the Petition of Right. After the prorogation in June, retiring to Wrest in Bedfordshire, he finished his '*Commentaries on the Arundelian Marbles*.*' When the parliament re-assembled, he continued to conduct himself upon the same principles; and was one of the most active members in constraining the Speaker to continue in his chair, after a royal message had prohibited it's sitting. For this, he was with seven others committed to the Tower; and three months afterward, when the Judges offered to discharge them on receiving security for their good behaviour, upon their refusing to comply with the terms required (as unwarranted by law) removed to the Marshalsea Prison. After a twelvemonth's confinement, however, and the subsequent permission of going at large upon bail, they were released; and, in 1646, the House ordered him a grant of 5000*l.*, as a compensation for the losses

* These Marbles, containing inscriptions of great importance in the study of history and chronology, received their name from the Earl of Arundel, by whom they had been imported into England.

which he had sustained upon the occasion. While he remained under this restraint, he composed his Treatise, ‘*De Successionibus in Bona Defuncti, secundum Leges Hebræorum.*’*

In 1630, he was again committed to custody, and brought under the cognisance of the Star Chamber with the Earls of Bedford and Clare, Sir Robert Cotton, and Mr. St. John, under the charge of having dispersed a libel, entitled, ‘A Proposition for his Majesty’s Service to bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments;’ of which it was subsequently proved, that Sir Robert Dudley, then living in the Duke of Tuscany’s dominions, was the author. But on the birth of Prince Charles, the King ordering this prosecution to be discharged, Selden was transferred to the Gate-House, and obtained permission to pass the vacation at Wrest. After this, however, he was remanded to his former prison, and only at last procured his discharge through the special interposition of his friend Archbishop Laud. During all these perplexities, he continued his learned researches, and wrote several valuable tracts on many curious branches of Hebrew jurisprudence. Under the influence of the Primate, he now acquired some degree of popularity at court, which was not likely to be diminished on his taking a principal share in the management of the masque given by the four law-societies in 1633 to the court and the city, in opposition to the puritanical spirit of the ‘*Histrion-Matrix*,’ published about this time by Prynne. But whatever pleasure he might afford to the royal party

* This was published in 1631, and in 1636 reprinted with the addition of a tract, ‘*De Successione in Pontificatum Hebræorum.*’

by these lighter exertions, he rendered it a more substantial service by asserting against Grotius the sovereignty of the British Seas.

A dispute having arisen in 1634 between the English and the Dutch concerning the herring-fishery upon the coast of Great Britain, and Grotius having published his '*Mare Liberum*' in favour of the latter, Selden, alive equally to the competition of rival genius and to the interest of his country, was prevailed upon by Laud (who, though he did not like his principles in church or state-affairs, could not help revering him for his learning and integrity) to draw up his '*Mare Clausum*;' and it was, accordingly, published in 1636. This production, of which the King ordered copies to be laid up with the Records of the Crown in the council-chest, and in the Courts of the Admiralty and the Exchequer, as "faithful and strong evidence to the dominion of the British Seas," recommended him highly to the ministry of the day; but he declined all court-remuneration.

In the same year, the Dutch agreed to pay an annual sum of 30,000*l.* for the privilege of fishing; less indeed, probably, under the cogeny of Selden's arguments, however powerful, than from the exertions of Algernon Earl of Northumberland, High Admiral of England, who took and destroyed great numbers of their vessels. In 1640, he published his '*De Jure Naturali et Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Hebræorum*.' This work Puffendorff highly applauds; but his translator Barbeyrac observes, with regard to it, "that beside the extreme disorder and obscurity, which are justly to be censured in his manner of writing, he derives his principles of the Law of Nature not from the pure light of reason, but merely from

the Seven Precepts given to Noah; and frequently contents himself by citing the decisions of the Rabbins, without giving himself the trouble to examine whether they be just or not." "He has, indeed, only copied the Rabbins," says Le Clerc, "and scarcely ever reasons at all. His rabbinical principles are founded upon an uncertain Jewish tradition, namely, that God gave to Noah seven precepts to be observed by all mankind; which, if it should be denied, the Jews would find a difficulty to prove. Besides, his ideas are very imperfect and embarrassed." For these charges there is, certainly, some foundation; and the same remark may be extended, with occasional qualifications, to all his writings. He had a great memory, and prodigious learning; and these frequently impeded the use of his reasoning faculty, perplexed his judgement, and crowded his writings with citations and authorities to supply the place of sense and argument.

In the two parliaments of 1640, by the recommendation of Laud as Chancellor of Oxford, Selden was chosen member for that University: but he still spoke, and acted, with the same freedom as usual; and even took part, though with different degrees of activity, in the prosecutions of both Lord Strafford and the Archbishop. He was, moreover, extremely zealous in depriving the Bishops of their seats in parliament; though from some very strong observations in his 'Table-Talk' it may fully be concluded, that his private sentiment was in favour of episcopacy. "Such an instance as this," observes one of his biographers, "will be sufficient to prove, that patriotic pretensions are to be trusted with great caution, when they are united with an invariable

opposition to the ruling powers, and a ready compliance to the popular prejudices. Mr. Selden was clearly a man of constitutional principles, and in his mind attached to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England: and yet he acted with men, who were enemies to the one and the other; and aided by his public speeches and his pen those measures, which he knew tended to ruin what he admired, and to bring in a system which he despised."

In one instance however, on the question 'Whether the parliament should not take the militia out of the hands of the King,' which the Lord Keeper Littleton himself thought advisable, he maintained the right of the Crown with great firmness. Upon another occasion likewise, in 1640-1, he exerted his ingenuity in behalf of the Church. When the remonstrance of the Puritan ministers against the ecclesiastical regimen was read in the House of Commons, Mr. Harbottle Grimstone observed:

"That Bishops are *jure divino*, is a question:

"That Archbishops are not *jure divino*, is out of the question:

"That Ministers are *jure divino*, is no question:

"Now that Bishops, which are questionable whether *jure divino*, or Archbishops, which out of question are not *jure divino*, should suspend Ministers that are questionless *jure divino*, I leave to you, Mr. Speaker."

Upon which, Selden immediately replied:

"That the Convocation is *jure divino*, is a question;

"That Parliaments are not *jure divino*, is out of the question;

That Religion is *jure divino*, is no question :

“ Now that the Convocation, which is questionable whether *jure divino*, and Parliaments which out of question are not *jure divino*, should meddle with Religion, which questionless is *jure divino*, I leave to you, Mr. Speaker.”

On this, Mr. Grimstone remarking,

“ But Archbishops are not Bishops, Mr. Speaker ;” Selden as quickly rejoined ;

“ That, Mr. Speaker, is no otherwise true, than that judges are not lawyers, and aldermen not citizens.”

About this time indeed, he was actually implicated in a charge of designing to give up the city of London to the King, from which accusation he was obliged or humble enough to purge himself by oath. It is certain, that the Great Seal was tendered to him in 1642 ; but of this high and hazardous appointment he declined the acceptance. From Clarendon we learn, that Lord Falkland and himself, to whom his Majesty referred the consideration of that affair, “ did not doubt of Mr. Selden’s affection to the King ;” but withal they knew him so well, that they concluded he would absolutely refuse the offer. “ He was in years,” continues the noble historian, “ and of a tender constitution : he had for many years enjoyed his ease, which he loved ; was rich, and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of his own bed, for any preferment which he had never affected.” He might have added, that he was too much attached to the liberties of his country, to lend himself to the royal views.

In 1643, he was appointed one of the lay-members to sit in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in

which he frequently by his profound learning perplexed his clerical colleagues: * and, as Whitlocke relates, “sometimes when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, ‘perhaps in their little pocket-bibles with gilt leaves, which they would often pull out and read, the translation might be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signified thus and thus;’ and so would totally silence them.”

At this period he was, by the parliament, appointed Keeper of the Records in the Tower, and the following year he subscribed the solemn League and Covenant. When the bill of attainder was passed against Laud, and the commissioners laid hold upon his noble endowment of the Arabic lecture at Oxford, Selden exerted himself with success in rescuing it from their harpy talons. But the learned founder of it, though he had previously been his friend, and even condescended to ask a favour from him, met with no pity at his hands. In 1644, he was elected one of the twelve Commissioners of the Admiralty; and, the same year, was nominated Master of Trinity College, Cambridge: but the latter very honourable appointment he thought proper to decline. About the same period, likewise, he rendered great services to the University of Oxford: and, from his disapprobation of the violent measures pursued against his

* Lightfoot, however, must be excepted from this observation. A single instance of his wit, upon these occasions, may amuse the reader. In attempting to ascertain the exact distance between some place on the sea-coast and Jerusalem, one of the ministers suggested that, ‘as fish was frequently carried from the first to the latter, the interval did not probably exceed thirty miles.’ This inference was about to be adopted, when Selden unfortunately observed, that ‘in all likelihood it was—salt-fish!’

Sovereign (though it does not appear, that he took any active step in his favour) he refused repeated solicitations made to him by Cromwell to answer the '*Icon Basilike*.' The office, in consequence, devolved upon Milton. After the catastrophe of January 30, 1648-9, he retired wholly from public business, and devoted the remainder of his days to contemplation and study. In 1650, appeared the first part of his Treatise, '*De Synedriis et Præfecturis Hebræorum*, to which he subjoined a second part in 1653. In 1652, he published his '*Decem Scriptores Anglicani*,' and the year following he made his will.

In the early part of 1654, his health beginning rapidly to decline, and his end in his own apprehension fast approaching, he sent for his venerable friends Archbishop Usher and Dr. Gerard Langbaine, with whom he discoursed seriously upon the vanity of learning, and declared that 'all his hopes of salvation rested upon the promises of the Scriptures.' Exemplary lesson for scholars, which, joined with the instances of Bacon, Newton, Addison, and Grotius,* will be found more than a counterbalance for the influence of such as have closed their cheerless day either in the levity, or in the gloom, of infidelity!

Some days before his death, he requested Mr. Bulstrode Whitlocke by a short note to call upon him, for the purpose of making some alterations in his will; but this, on that gentleman's attending his summons, he had lost the power of carrying into effect.

From Baxter, who knew Hobbes intimately, and denominated him with Spinoza (by a strong epithet

* This illustrious rival of Selden lamented, on his death-bed, that 'he had lost his life in strenuously doing nothing;' *laboriosè nihil agendo*.

for materialists) ‘the brutish,’ we learn, that Selden refused to have the philosopher of Malmsbury in his chamber while dying, calling out, “No Atheists!” But Aubrey informs us, that Hobbes continued by the side of his dying friend. He expired on the thirtieth of November aged seventy, at the house of Elizabeth Countess Dowager of Kent, with whom he had lived some years in such intimacy, that they were reported to be as man and wife. Dr. Wilkins even supposes, that the wealth, which he left behind him, was chiefly owing to that lady’s generosity : but there is no good reason for either of these surmises. He was buried in the Temple Church, where a monument was erected to him ; and Archbishop Usher preached his funeral sermon the day before his own death.* His valuable and curious library he had intended to bequeath, in the first instance, to the Bodleian collection ; but upon being refused the loan of some MSS. (which, indeed, could not constitutionally have been granted without a restitutionary bond of 1000*l*.) he left it to the Inner Temple, on the condition that a suitable building should be provided for its reception ; in failure of which, it was to pass to the disposal of his executors, Matthew Hale, John Vaughan, Edward Heywood, and Rowland Jewks, Esquires ; and by them it was finally attached, under the name of ‘Mr. Selden’s Library,’ to the Bodleian.

Knowing in all laws, divine and human, he did not greatly trouble himself with the practice of law ; seldom appearing at the bar, though he sometimes gave counsel in his chamber. His extensive acquirements procured him the esteem of all his learned

* In this he said, “He looked upon him as so great a scholar, that himself was not worthy to carry his books after him.”

contemporaries throughout Europe;* but the noblest testimony to his abilities is borne by his friend the Earl of Clarendon: "Mr. Selden was a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions even equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds and in all languages, as may appear from his excellent and transcendent writings, that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant among books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good-nature, charity, and delight in doing good and in communicating all he knew exceeded that breeding. His stile in all his writings seems harsh, and sometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects, of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men, but to a little undervaluing the beauty of a stile, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity: but in *his* conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty in making hard things easy and presenting them to the understanding, of any man that hath been known. Mr. Hyde (the noble writer himself) was wont to say, that 'he valued himself upon nothing more, than having had Mr. Selden's acquaintance from the time he was very young;' and held it with great delight, as long as they were suffered to continue toge-

* By Grotius, Saumaise, Bochart, Gerard Vossius, Gronovius, and Daniel Heinsius, he is mentioned with high encomiums; and he well deserved them. In his patronage of men of letters, he ~~was~~ extremely liberal, being apparently free from the jealousy and arrogance too frequently associated with the literary character.

ther in London. And he was very much troubled always when he heard him blamed, censured, and reproached for staying in London with the parliament, after they were in rebellion and the worst times, which his age obliged him to do: and how wicked soever the actions were which were every day done, he was confident he had not given his consent to them, but would have hindered them, if he could with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent. If he had some infirmities with other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious abilities and excellences in the other scale."

Whitlocke, likewise, pronounces "his mind as large as his learning." Another contemporary, however (and, what is still more observable, a compatriot) mentions him much less respectfully. Sir Simon D'Ewes in his 'Diary' remarks, that "he was more learned than pious, being a man exceedingly puffed up with the apprehension of his own abilities."

In his disposition he appears to have been cynical; and though, as Dr. Wilkins informs us, extremely charitable (especially, to poor scholars) gifted with few of the qualities which constitute an amiable man. He was quick in resentment, lofty in his sentiments, and very dogmatical in the delivery of them. One of the few men of literature, who have turned their talents to their worldly advantage, he seems generally to have pursued his own interest even at the expense of his private judgement: if it were not, that his pride restrained him from renouncing a course and a part, which he assuredly embraced with little cordiality. No wonder therefore that he died rich, as the part which he acted in the great drama of his day was far from being unfavourable to the accumulation of wealth.

He composed his own epitaph, which was inscribed on his monument in the Temple Church; a proof, that the love of fame (that “infirmity of noble minds”) prevailed in him to the last.

As a writer, his excellences are great judgement, minute investigation, extensive reading, and logical precision: but his stile is mean, his sentences long and intricate, and even his latinity obscure and perplexed. His favourite motto was, Περὶ παντός τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ‘Liberty above all things;’ on which it has been observed, that this little word, which has occasionally done both so much good and so much harm to mankind, was by him interpreted (agreeably to Cicero’s definition) to be ‘the power of doing that which the laws permit.’

The following eulogium, written by his friend Langbaine, was placed under his portrait:

*Talem se ore tulit, quem gens non barbara quarvis
Quantovis pretio mallet habere suum.
Qualis ab ingenio, vel quantas ab arte, loquentur
Dique ipsi et Lapides,* si taceant homines.*

IMITATED.

Lo! such was Selden: and his learned fame
All polish’d nations would be proud to claim.
The Gods, may e’en the Stones, their voice would raise,
Should men by silence dare withhold their praise.

His works† were collected by Dr. David Wilkins,

* Alluding to his works on the Syrian Gods, and the Arundel Marbles.

† The following list of them is given in the order of their publication:

	A. D.
<i>Analecta Anglo-Britannica</i>	1606
<i>England’s Epinomis</i>	1610
<i>Jani Anglorum Facies Altera</i> (translated by Dr. Adam Littleton in 1683.)	—
<i>De Duello</i>	—

and printed at London in three volumes folio, in 1726. The two first volumes contain his Latin works; and the third, his English. To the whole, the editor has prefixed a long Life of the author.

	A. D.
Notes on Drayton	1612
Titles of Honour	1614
<i>Notæ in Fortescue De Laud. Leg. Angliæ, et in Summ.</i>	
<i>Radulphi de Hengham</i>	1616
<i>De Dîs Syris</i>	1617
Of the Jews in England	—
History of Tithes	1618
Privilege of the Baronage	1621
<i>Notæ in Eadmerum</i>	1622
Letter to Mr. Vincent	—
Commentaries on the Arundelian Marbles	1627
<i>De Successionibus in Bonâ Defuncti, sec. Leges Hebræorum</i>	1629
<i>De Jure Naturali et Gentium</i>	about 1634
<i>Mare Clausum</i>	1636
<i>De Anno Civili et Calendario Judaico</i>	1644
<i>Uxor Hebraica</i>	1646
<i>Dissertatio ad Ectam</i>	1647
<i>De Synedriis et Prefecturis Hebræorum</i>	1650, and 1653
<i>Judicium de X Scriptoribus Anglicanis</i>	1652
<i>Vindiciæ de Descriptione Maris Clausi</i>	1653

Posthumous Works;

A Review of the History of 'Tithes'	1661
Birth-day of our Saviour	—
Office of Lord Chancellor	1671
Judicature in Parliament (MS. lost)	1681
Original of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Parliaments	1683
(written about 1628.)	

Table-Talk	1689
(By Richard Melward, who had been his amanuensis. It was condemned, however, at first as spurious by the Leipsic <i>Acta Eruditorum</i> , Wilkins, &c.)	

Published by Dr. Wilkins;

Under answers to Sir James Sempill and Dr. Tillesley, Of the Number 666; Of Calvin's Judgement of the Revelation; Of his purpose in writing the 'History of Tithes;' Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham; Argument concerning the Barony of Grey and Ruthin; Speeches, and Letters and Poems.

EXTRACT

FROM HIS Θεωσπῶτες, OR GOD MADE MAN.—*Introd.**On the Birth-day of our Saviour.*

‘ IN the review of the fourth chapter having occasion to speak of the authority of the Clementines, the eighth book of Constitutions attributed to the Apostles, in which an express constitution is, that the birth-day of our Saviour should be celebrated on the twenty fifth of December (or of the ninth month, as it is there called, being accounted from April as the first) I noted that Constitution for one character of that volume’s being supposititious; in regard that in the Eastern Church (where those Constitutions, being in Greek, must by all probability have been in most use) the celebration of that day was not received on the twenty fifth of December, till the ancient tradition of it was learned from the Western about four hundred years after Christ: and some touch, also, I have there of the opinion of them, that think that day not to be the true time of his Birth. This passage hath been so conceived, as if I had purposely called in question the celebration of that sacred day (which is ἡ τῶν καλῶν ἀπειρών, as St. Chrysostom styles it, ἀρεσπολὺς, ἡ πηγὴ καὶ ῥίζα πηγῶν ὅλων ἀγαθῶν) that is, ‘as the main fort of all happiness, and the fountain and root of all good that we enjoy;’ and to call it in question, as if I supposed it were observed at that time without sufficient ground, and as if I were too inclining to the part of the hot-brained and disturbing Puritans, which impiously deny the keeping of a day as an anniversary feast consecrated to the birth of our

blessed Saviour; from which my conscience was ever, and is, most clearly free. For I knew, first, both from sacred and profane story, that the anniversary days, not only of princes, but of some private men also were with frequency ever observed, and the beginning of cities under that name yearly celebrated: and even among the heathen, those that professed such philosophy as was nearest to true divinity, that is, the Platonists, were most religious in keeping their Plato's birth-day, which they received by tradition to be the same with Apollo's, that is, the seventh day of the Attic month Thargelion (which answers to our April); and this was still observed until the time of Plotinus and Porphyry, who lived about two hundred and twenty years after our Saviour's birth: and, after the discontinuance of it for many ages, it was revived in the days of our grandfathers with much solemnity in the duchy of Florence by Lorenzo di Medici. But he misplaced it in the year, while he and his guests being better Platonists than chronologers, took the seventh of Thargelion to be the seventh of November. As also the old trifling astrologers committed a like fault, while in the scheme of his nativity they place the sun in *Pisces*, which must denote our February, or the Attic Anthesterion. But, however, an anniversary day was observed for his birth. So was there, anciently, for the birth of some false gods; for they had their certain days for the births of Mars, Apollo, Diana, Minerva, the Muses, Hercules, and others, and carefully observed them; and for princes and private persons, even to this day, a celebration is in use at the yearly returning of their birth-days. To deny therefore, with that wayward sect, such an anniversary honour to

the Saviour of the world, were but to think him less worthy of it than false gods were esteemed by the Gentiles, than princes by their subjects, than private friends by their greater friends, whose birth-days they yearly celebrated. But of this I trust no man, that truly deserves a name among Christians, will make scruple. Some, indeed (and those not a few among the learned) have doubted of the just time of the birth of our Saviour; which while they doubt, they offer the more occasion to others to question and impugn the celebration of it, as it is now settled in the Church. For if that were not the true day, as they argue, it follows, that there were no more reason (save only what comes from the latter and arbitrary Constitutions of the Church) to keep that day than any other throughout the whole year, unless also some other day were found to be the exact time of it. But for myself here, as I was far from questioning the duty of it, so was I also from doubting of the right of celebration of it on the very day of December whereon it is now kept. And to make clear my mind here, I shall now more largely, according to what his Majesty's most learned instructions have taught me, declare the certainty of that feast as it is this day observed, even from the eldest of the Christian times and apostolical tradition received even from the practice of his disciples; for it is one thing to deny, as I have done, that it was so ordained by the Apostles in those Clementines (which, I think, all learned and ingenuous men will deny), and another and far different thing to affirm, that the tradition of that day, as it is now kept, is both apostolical and as ancient as the birth itself; as I shall presently deliver in the deduction

of the continuance of it, according as it is now observed through all Christendom. For although in the feast, and in all others unmoveable, there be the known difference of ten days (which were taken out of October in the year 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII., when he reformed the Julian Calendar) betwixt us with some few other states, and those which have received the Gregorian Calendar; yet both they and we agree in this, that upon the twenty fifth of that month (that is, with us, of our Julian December) this feast is ever to be observed. So that we meddle not here at all with any part of the differences betwixt the Julian and Gregorian year, but only endeavour to make it certain, that on this day of that month December that feast hath ever been settled in the Western Church; from whence the Eastern, also, anciently received it. For it is clear, that upon what day soever of any month an unmoveable feast is to be kept in our Julian year, on the same day of the month it is to be kept in the Gregorian; so that the proof here is equal for the use of both accounts. Thus appears the state of the question; and to this purpose, for order's sake, shall be showed,

1. The authorities of keeping it on this day both in the Eastern and Western Churches about four hundred years after our Saviour, and that then it was ancient in the Western Church, and known also under the name of the 'Winter-solstice day,' which is especially here observable :

2. For preparation of more particular proof of the tradition of this feast-day, the supposition which the most primitive ages had touching the times of the solstices and equinoxes :

3. That the keeping of it on this day was so re-

ceived from tradition, even of the eldest times since our Saviour; and this justified from the Fathers, supposing it to have been upon the very day of the ancient winter-solstice :

4. Express testimonies to the same purpose out of ancient history, and a confirmation from the general use in the several Churches in Christendom :

5. The common reasons used out of the holy text to justify this day, and how they are mistaken, and therefore not used here; together with what some would prove from the scheme of his nativity :

6. The chief objections, that are made against this day's being the true time of the birth, with plain answers to them :

7. Some other opinions among the ancients touching it, and how some of them may agree with what we have received, and the rest are of no weight against it; and then move especially of the ancient confusion of this feast with that of the Epiphany.'

TO MICHAEL DRAYTON, ESQ.

'I must admire thee (but to praise were vain,
 What every tasting palate so approves)—
 Thy martial pyrrhic, and thy epic strain,
 Digesting wars with heart-uniting loves;
 The two first authors of what is composed
 In this round system all—it's ancient lore,
 All arts, in discords and concerts are closed:
 And when unwinged souls the fates restore
 To th' earth, for reparation of their flights,
 The first musicians, scholars, lovers take
 The next rank destinate to Mars' knights;
 The following rabble meaner titles take—
 I see thy temples crown'd with Phœbus' rites,
 Thy bays to th' eye with lily mix'd and rose,
 As to the ear a diapason close.'

TO MR. WILLIAM BROWNE.

* So much a stranger my severer muse
 Is not to love-strains, or a shepherd's reed,
 But that she knows some rites of Phœbus' dues,
 Of Pan, of Pallas, and her sisters' meed.
 Read and comment she durst these tuned essays
 Of him, that loves her (she hath ever found
 Her studies as one circle.) Next she prays,
 His readers be with rose and myrtle crown'd!
 No willow touch them! As his bays are free
 From wrong of bolts,* so may their chaplets be!

* ' Bays, fair readers, being the materials of poets' garlands (as myrtles and roses are for enjoying lovers, and the fruitless willow for them which your inconstancy too oft makes most unhappy) are supposed not subject to any hurt of Jove's thunderbolts, as other trees are.'

DR. JAMES USHER,
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.*

[1580—1655.]

THIS distinguished Prelate was descended from the ancient line of the Nevils, whose ancestor went over to Ireland as Gentleman-Usher to King John, and there changed his inherited name to that of his office. His descendants subsequently branched out into several families of repute in and near Dublin, and long enjoyed considerable employments in that city.

His father was Mr. Arnold Usher, one of the Six Clerks in the Court of Chancery in Dublin, a gentleman highly esteemed for his integrity. His mother was the daughter of James Stanihurst, Esq. Recorder of Dublin, one of the Masters in Chancery, and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons during three parliaments in the reign of Elizabeth; in the last of which he distinguished himself by proposing the founding and endowing of the College and University of Dublin, which has subsequently been eminent for the proficiency of its members both in profound and elegant learning.

* **AUTHORITIES.** Parr's *Life of Usher* (prefixed to his *Letters*) and Bernard's *Funeral Sermon*.

James Usher was born at Dublin in January, 1580-1, and from early infancy discovered a strong passion for books. A singular circumstance attended his first effort to attain literary knowledge. He was taught to read English (that is, to pronounce it rightly) by two aunts, who though both blind from their cradle, through the strength of their memories and what is called a good ear for sounds, by mere dint of repetition accomplished their object.

His next advance toward a liberal education was attended with circumstances not less extraordinary. Two gentlemen of Scotland of considerable rank and learning, but whose business and quality were then unknown, visited Dublin in 1588, being sent thither by their Sovereign James VI. to open a correspondence with the Protestant nobility and gentry about that capital, in order to secure his interest in Ireland on the event of Queen Elizabeth's death. These, as a pretext for residence, undertook in the capacity of schoolmasters the instruction of youth. The first, James Fullerton, was afterward knighted, and made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King James; the other was James Hamilton, subsequently created Viscount Glandebois. To their tuition young Usher was committed; and his proficiency was such, that in the space of five years he became their principal pupil in Latin, poetry, and rhetoric.

In 1593 Trinity College, Dublin, being finished, Usher then in his thirteenth year was admitted a member of that seminary; Dr. Loftus (sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge*) being its

* He was, afterward, promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin.

first Provost, and Hamilton, one of Usher's school-masters, Senior Fellow and Tutor. The name of Usher, as it's first scholar, stands to this day in the line of it's register, with a presage annexed (in due time, happily fulfilled) that he might prove an honour and ornament to his college and his nation.

Here he diligently applied himself to the study of the languages and the liberal arts; but his chief delight was in ecclesiastical history and antiquities, in all of which he improved to admiration. In chronology, more particularly, before he had completed his sixteenth year such was his proficiency, that he had drawn up in Latin an exact chronicle of the Bible as far as the Book of Kings, not much differing from the method subsequently adopted in his 'Annals.' He engaged, likewise, with great ardor in the study of theology; and finding the authority of the Fathers confidently appealed to by the Catholic Stapleton in his 'Fortress of Faith,' he resolved to devote a portion of every day to the perusal of these writers, till he had gone through the whole of them.

The Earl of Essex arriving in 1598, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Chancellor of the University of Dublin, a solemn Act was celebrated for his entertainment; in which Usher, then B. A., maintained the part of respondent in philosophy with signal approbation. While he was anxiously seeking, however, to qualify himself for the sacred functions of the ministry, his father recommended to him the study of the common law. Although this new destination in no respect suited his natural temper and complexion, he was preparing to comply; when that parent's death left him with a considerable estate the liberty of pursuing his own inclinations. Yet far

from being transported by such an accession of fortune, he was not in the least shaken in his original purpose. Finding it, indeed, incumbered with sisters' portions and law-suits, which he feared might prove a hindrance to his studies, he frankly surrendered the whole to his younger brother; reserving only to himself so much of it as might enable him to purchase books, and afford him a competent maintenance in the college.

Not long after this event, he was thought the fittest person to enter the lists of disputation with a learned Jesuit (one Henry Fitz-Symonds, then prisoner in the Castle of Dublin), who had defied the champions of Protestantism to discuss with him the subjects chiefly debated between the Romish and Reformed Churches. Usher accepted the challenge. The Jesuit, with the confidence of a Goliath in theology, despised him at first on account of his youth: but, after one or two public exhibitions, he became so sensible of the quickness of his wit and the strength of his arguments, that he judiciously declined farther contest.

In 1600, Mr. Usher took the degree of M. A.: and the same year was chosen Proctor, and Catechist Reader in the College. He was also, about this time, ordained by his paternal uncle, the Archbishop of Armagh, being in his twenty-first year. And being not long afterward appointed to preach constantly before the Great Officers of State, at Christ Church, on Sundays in the afternoon, he made it his business to handle the chief points of controversy between the two Churches; and by the clearness and cogency of his reasonings happily settled many that were wavering, and converted others from the in-

fluence of Papal superstition.* Neither must it be forgotten, that after the English forces in 1603 had driven out the Spaniards, who had come to the assistance of the Irish rebels, their officers resolving to leave behind them a lasting memorial of the gallantry of military men and of their regard for religion and learning, paid into the hands of Dr. Chaloner and Mr. Usher, the sum of 1,800*l.* (raised by subscription) to procure such books as they should judge most necessary for the college-library, and most useful for the advancement of literature.

In London, whither the two trustees repaired for this purpose, they met Sir Thomas Bodley, who was at that time purchasing books for his newly-erected library at Oxford: and this, their kindred pursuit, laid the foundation of a valuable intimacy between all the parties. Usher was soon afterward appointed to the chancellorship of St. Patrick, Dublin, with the rectory of Finglass annexed, his first ecclesiastical preferment; and upon this, without seeking any other benefice, he lived for some years with a degree of hospitality proportioned to his income: not anxious for any overplus at the year's end, for indeed he was never a hoarder of money, but for books and learning exercising a kind of laudable covetousness, and never thinking a good volume, manuscript or printed, too dear.

In 1606, he a second time visited England, with

* Upon one of his texts, Ezek. iv. 6, he observed; "From this year (1601) I reckon forty years, and then those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." The apparent accomplishment of this prediction, at the rebellion of 1641, was by many regarded as no equivocal indication of his more than human sagacity.

the view of adding to his literary treasures; and upon this occasion became acquainted with Sir Robert Cotton, and Camden (then deeply engaged in completing a new edition of his *Britannia*) who gladly took the opportunity of consulting him upon several articles relative to the ancient state of Ireland and of the city of Dublin. Usher, on his return, transmitted several curious and satisfactory letters, of which the great topographer incorporated a considerable part into his work; acknowledging his obligations to the Chancellor of St. Patrick's, 'whose variety of learning and soundness of judgement (he observed) infinitely surpassed his years.'

In the year 1607, the twenty-seventh of his age, he took the degree of B. D.; and soon afterward was chosen Divinity Professor in the University of Dublin.* About this time there being a great dispute respecting the Herenach, Termon, and Corban lands, which anciently belonged to the Chorepiscopi, or boy-bishops of England and Ireland,† Usher wrote a learned treatise upon the subject, the substance of which was subsequently translated by Sir Henry Spelman into Latin, and published in the first part of his 'Glossary.'‡

In 1609, he a third time visited England, in order to purchase books, and to converse with learned men; and was now first noticed at court. As his great

* During the thirteen years, for which he held this office, he read lectures once or twice a week on polemical subjects, chiefly with reference to the Protestant and Papal controversies.

† There is a curious tract upon the *Episcopus Puerorum in Dre Innocentium*, with reference to an ancient custom in the Church of Sarum, in 'Gregorii Posthuma.'

‡ Stiling it's author *Literarum insignis Pharus*. This treatise, in manuscript, still exists in the Archbishop's library at Lambeth.

passion was the study of antiquity, for this purpose he consulted the best manuscripts of both universities, and all libraries public and private : and henceforward he regularly came over once in three years ; passing one month of the summer-season at Oxford, another at Cambridge, and the rest in London, chiefly among the treasures of the Cottonian library.

About the beginning of the year 1610, he was unanimously chosen Provost of his College ; but this honour, fearing it might prove a hindrance to his studies, he had the forbearance to refuse.

In 1612, he was admitted D. D. by Dr. Hampton, then Archbishop of Armagh, upon which occasion he composed two prælections : one on the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, and the other on the Millennium of the Apocalypse.

The next year, he published in London his Treatise, '*Gravissimæ Quæstionis de Christianarum Ecclesiarum, in Occidentis præsertim Partibus, ab Apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usque ætatem continuâ successione et statu, Historica Explicatio* ; to which his learned friends Isaac Casaubon and Abraham Schultens prefixed encomiastic verses in Greek and Latin.*

Soon after his return to Ireland, he married Phæbe, only daughter of Luke Chaloner, D. D., of the ancient family of the Chaloners in Yorkshire, who as overseer of the building, and treasurer, had been an eminent assistant and benefactor to the new College.

* This work, dedicated to King James, and commencing from the sixth century, where it had been discontinued by Jewel in his 'Apology for the Church of England,' has been left imperfect. He intended to have completed it, had God afforded him a longer life.

Such was the friendship of Dr. Chaloner for Usher, that he intended, had he lived, to have given him this his only daughter, with a considerable estate: but dying before he could see the nuptials concluded, he charged her upon his death-bed to ‘think of no other person for a husband. The injunction was obeyed soon after her father’s decease; and she lived with him in great harmony for forty years.

In 1615, a parliament being held at Dublin, a convocation of the clergy was also assembled, in which the articles of the Church of Ireland, at the request of that body, were drawn up by Usher. The turn of some of these articles, in number 104, having incurred the censure of favouring Puritanism, the learned compiler in his next visit to his English friends carried over commendatory letters from the Lord Deputy and the Privy Council of Ireland. These readily obtaining for him private audiences of James I., that Monarch was so thoroughly satisfied with the exposition of his religious principles, that in 1620 he promoted him to the see of Meath, saying, “Dr. Usher is a Bishop of my own making.” His elevation, however, to the episcopal bench made no alteration in the modesty and simplicity of his character.

In 1622, the new Prelate was requested to address an admonitory oration to certain high-born Catholic officers, who had scrupled to take the oaths of supremacy; and for his speech upon this occasion he received the royal thanks, and the appointment of Privy Councillor.

In the same year, he published his ‘Treatise upon the ‘Religion of the ancient Irish and Britons,’ showing the conformity of the rites and doctrines of the primitive ages in these countries with those of

Protestantism, and pointing out the periods in which the Papal innovations were successively introduced.

From the profound knowledge evinced in this disquisition, King James, to facilitate his design of discussing more elaborately the Antiquities of the British churches, transmitted a letter to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, commanding them to grant him a licence for non-residence; upon which, he came over to England, and spent nearly a year in consulting the best manuscripts in both Universities and in private libraries.

Soon after his return to his see in 1624, he was for some time engaged in answering the presumptuous challenge of Malone, an Irish Jesuit of the College of Loraine. He revisited England a little before the death of James, and was by him translated to the archbishopric of Armagh. Upon this promotion he received congratulatory letters from Viscount Falkland, then Lord Deputy, and from all the State-Officers and Bishops of Ireland; but he did not take actual possession of the primacy till 1626, having been detained in England nine months by a quartan ague. During this interval he gained great credit, and established a valuable friendship for life, by acting as the champion of Lady Mordaunt in a disputation with her Lord's Catholic advocate, which terminated in his Lordship's conversion to Protestantism.

• In the administration of the archbishopric, he acted, as he had invariably done in every preceding station, in a most exemplary manner. He exhorted, and reformed, the inferior clergy: but he vigorously opposed the design of granting more toleration to the Irish Catholics; being, unfortunately, in this respect imperfectly enlightened. A general assembly of the whole nation, Catholics and Protestants, had been

called by the Lord Deputy upon this subject. The meeting was held at the Castle. The Bishops, by the Primate's invitation, met first at his house; where they unanimously subscribed a protest against the toleration of Popery. In consequence of this, the proposal of the Catholics, to provide at their own expense a standing army for the defence of the kingdom against its foreign and domestic enemies upon certain conditions of toleration, was rejected.

The Archbishop was now enabled more amply to gratify his ruling passion, the love of antiquity. He laid aside, every year, a considerable sum for the purchase of valuable books and manuscripts; and, among others, through the medium of Mr. Thomas Davis (then a merchant at Aleppo) he procured, 'if not the first,' one of the first Samaritan Pentateuchs ever brought into the west of Europe,* as also two

* So Selden and Walton admit. The latter borrowed this Pentateuch with his other MSS., and made use of them in his Polyglott Bible; and, being subsequently retrieved out of the hands of his executors, they are now deposited in the Bodleian Library. One of these copies had the Arabic Version coupled with the Samaritan text, and another a portion of the Samaritan Liturgy. From which, and the practice of the modern Jews, traditionally carrying the usage of *Set Forms of Prayer* as high as the time of Ezra, the learned editor of the Polyglott observes, *Sectariorum nostratum perverbia et impietas merito redarguitur, qui spretis omnibus publicis orationum et Liturgiæ formis, per omnes Christi Ecclesias ab ipsis Christianæ fidei primordiis et Apostolorum temporibus usitatis, omnium per orbem Christianum parissimam et sanctissimam damnarunt, et omnibus liberum permiscuerunt consoribus, hajulis, cauponariis, vilissimisque è fœce plebis quicquid in buccam venerit publicè in ecclesiis effutire et blaterare, quorum præxis vel ab ipsis Judæis eorumque æmulis Samaritanis erroris et novitatis arguitur.* All these, says Walton, *magno nobis adjumento erant in adornando Pentateucho nostro, cumque à merdis quæ in editionem Pari-*

manuscript copies of the Old Testament in Syriac, in a much more perfect state than had previously been known.*

In 1631, his Grace published at Dublin his '*Godeschalci, et Prædestinariæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ Historia.*' being the first Latin book printed in Ireland. His notions however upon this subject being opposite to those of Laud, a Prelate both more powerful and more inclined to use his power in silencing his adversaries than Usher, he was reluctantly obliged to conform to the directions of a Letter issued by Charles I. for the suppression of the Irish Bishop Downham's work against the Arminians. His zeal against Papists took a better direction, when he employed himself in endeavouring to convert them by argument, inviting them to his house, and holding friendly conversations with them, in which his success is said to have been remarkable.

In the year following he gave to the world a collection of ancient letters, under the title of '*Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, quæ partim ad Hibernos, partim de Hibernis vel rebus Hibernicis sunt conscriptæ.*' These documents contain divers curious matters, from 592 to 1180, relative to the ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction of the Irish Church: and by the learning and judgement, which they displayed, procured for their editor a considerable addition of credit.

sianam irrepservant repurgando. See Proleg. ad SS. Bibl. Polyglott. XI. 10. 23.

* One of these contained only the Pentateuch; but the other comprised the whole of the Old Testament with the exception of the Psalms, which the Primate had directed to be transcribed from the MS. of the Patriarch of Alexandria at a great expense. Ib. XIII. 10.

Upon the meeting of the parliament of Ireland in 1634, a dispute arose between the Primate and the Archbishop of Dublin concerning precedence; but Usher asserted his right so clearly, that the point was determined in his favour.

In 1640, he visited England with his family on his private concerns, intending speedily to return to his native country: but the affairs of Charles I., who had given him many marks of his esteem,* beginning to wear a gloomy aspect, we cannot be surprised that a man of Usher's abilities should be detained at his court. He now, at his Sovereign's command, drew up his treatise entitled, 'The Power of the Prince, and the Obedience of the Subject.'

The first instance, however, of his being known to interfere in the public councils, was in the contest between his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, concerning the bill for the Earl of Strafford's attainder. Charles, perplexed between the clamors of a discontented people and the remonstrances of his own mind, thought fit to advise with five of his Bishops as to the point of conscience, having previously consulted his Judges in respect to law; and as it has been incorrectly stated that the Lord Primate advised the signing of the bill, it seems a debt due to truth to insert the relation of this matter, which Dr. Bernard had under his own hand and has printed in his Funeral Sermon.

"That Sunday morning, wherein the King consulted with the four Bishops (of London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle) the Archbishop of Armagh was

* He had granted him an order on the treasury of Ireland for 400*l.*, soon after his accession; and had, upon several occasions, placed great confidence in him.

not present, being preaching, as he then accustomed himself every Sunday to do, in the church of Covent-Garden; where a message coming unto him from his Majesty, he descended from the pulpit, and told him that brought it, ‘he was then (as he saw) employed about God’s business, which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon the King to understand his pleasure.’ But the King spending the whole afternoon in the serious debate of the Lord Strafford’s case with the Lords of his Council and the Judges of the land, he could not before evening be admitted to his Majesty’s presence. There the question was again agitated, ‘Whether the King in justice might pass the bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford;’ for that he might show mercy to him, was no question at all, no man doubting but that the King without the least scruple of conscience might have granted him a pardon, if other reasons of state, in which the Bishops were made neither judges nor advisers, did not hinder him.

“The whole result, therefore, of the determination of the Bishops was to this effect; ‘that therein the matter of fact, and matter of law, were to be distinguished: that of the matter of fact he himself might make a judgement, having been present at all proceedings against the said Earl, where (if upon hearing the allegations on either side, he did not conceive him guilty of the crimes wherewith he was charged) he could not in justice condemn him; but for the matter in law, what was treason and what was not, he was to rest in the opinion of the Judges, whose office it was to declare the law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him and his subjects.’ Which gave his Majesty

occasion to complain of the dealing of the Judges with him not long before: that having earnestly pressed them to declare, in particular, what part of the Lord of Strafford's charge they judged to be treasonable (forasmuch as, upon the hearing of the proof produced, he might in his conscience perhaps find him guiltless of that fact), he could not by any means draw them to nominate any in particular, but that upon the whole treason might justly be charged upon him. And, in this second meeting, it was observed that the Bishop of London* did not speak; but the Bishop of Lincoln not only spake, but put a writing into the King's hand, wherein what was contained the rest of his brethren knew not."

Not many months after the execution of Strafford, news of the Irish rebellion arrived. The rebels had plundered the Primate's palace in the country, seized on his rents, destroyed his tenements, killed or driven away his numerous flocks and herds; in a word left him nothing except his library,† and some furniture in his house at Drogheda, which were secured by the strength of that place notwithstanding a long and vigorous siege. This misfortune, which reduced him to such a state of indigence that he was compelled for his present supply to sell or pawn his plate and jewels, made no change in his temper. He submitted with exemplary patience to his losses, though sufficient from their magnitude to move compassion even in the breasts of foreigners: for, some months after-

* Juxon. He alone affirmed, that 'the King, who had given Strafford a solemn assurance of personal safety, ought in no case to break his promise.'

† His library was some years afterward conveyed to Chester, and thence to London.

ward, the city and university of Leyden offered to choose him their Honorary Professor, with a more ample stipend than had formerly been annexed to that office; and Cardinal Richelieu about the same time transmitted him an invitation to France, with the promise of a noble pension and the freedom of his religious faith.* But it pleased his Majesty to provide for him much better in England, by conferring upon him the bishoprick of Carlisle, then void by the death of Dr. Potter, to hold in *commendam*. Upon this, though much reduced in value by the Scottish and English armies quartering upon it, he contrived to subsist until the Long Parliament seized all the bishops' lands. In consideration however of his great losses in Ireland, as well as of his singular merits, they voted him a pension of 400*l.* *per ann.*; and on their dissolution, as Dr. Bernard assures us, Cromwell made him a competent allowance for his subsistence.

To return: upon the King's marching to Oxford in October, 1642, Usher obtained leave from the parliament to repair to the same city; and the reverend Dr. Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, lent him his house near Exeter College, as conveniently contiguous to the public library, where the Archbishop now resumed his literary labours for the public. Nor was he less anxious for the spiritual than the intellectual advantage of his fellow-creatures, preaching commonly every Sunday at St. Olave's or at All-

* Dr. Bernard, in his Funeral Sermon. That this is not unlikely, may be inferred from the great respect previously expressed for him by that Cardinal in a letter accompanied with a gold medal of considerable value, having his own effigies stamped upon it, which is still preserved.

hallow's, where he had constantly a crowded audience both of students and others.

In 1643, he was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, which met at Westminster to settle the religion of the state.* He refused, however, to accept the nomination. This, with some of his sermons, giving offence to the parliament, his library was seized, and would have been sold; had not Dr. Featly (who sat among those Divines, though his heart was with the King and the Church) obtained it by means of Mr. Selden, ostensibly for his own use, but in reality with the view of restoring it to its rightful owner. In the following year, he printed at Oxford his corrected edition of the 'Epistles of Ignatius,' originally collected by Polycarp, but transmitted to posterity in a very imperfect state.†

In 1645, a rumour prevailing that Oxford would be besieged by the parliamentary forces, the Archbishop withdrew to Cardiff to the seat of Sir Timothy Tyrrel, who had married his only daughter, and was then Governor and General of the Ordnance under Lord Gerard, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's forces in South Wales. In this fortress he remained upward of six months, free from the dangers of war; and, having carried many chests of books along with him, made considerable progress in the first part of his Sacred Annals. At length, the royal army being so reduced as to render it necessary to strip

* Here the famous Catechism now used by some of the Protestant Dissenters, and divers Articles of Religion, were drawn up.

† The Appendix to this work appeared in 1647; and one or two other learned disquisitions flowed from his pen in that and the following year.

Cardiff with many other places of their garrisons, his Grace accepted an invitation from the Lady Dowager Stradling to her castle of St. Donat's, in Glamorgan-shire. On his journey thither with his daughter, he was extremely ill-used by the Welch rabble, who were up in arms in the mountains, and carried off his books and papers. But the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood, by ordering public notice to be given in the churches and at the market-places, that 'all persons possessing articles of this description should bring them to their ministers or landlords, for which they should receive a proper gratification;' in about three months he recovered the greatest part of them.

While he remained at St. Donat's, he spent his time chiefly in examining the books and manuscripts in the library of that place, which had been collected by Sir Edward Stradling, a great antiquary, and the friend of Mr. Camden; and out of these he made many choice extracts of British or Welsh antiquity. But his industry was intercepted by a dangerous illness, which began with a strangury, and was followed by a violent bleeding at the nose continuing for nearly forty hours without intermission. His physicians and friends now despaired of his life, when at last, as they thought him expiring, it suddenly stopped, and he thenceforward gradually recovered.

In 1646, he resolved to go abroad, and had actually procured passes for that purpose; but Vice-Admiral Molton, who commanded at sea for the parliament, declared that 'if he came in his way, he would certainly deliver him up.' Receiving therefore a pressing invitation from the Countess Dowager of Peterborough to make his abode with her in London, in which she engaged that he should have every suit-

able accommodation, in return for his having converted her lord (as above stated) from the superstitions of Popery, he gladly altered his project; and having obtained the necessary passes, after nearly a year's residence he quitted St. Donat's. But it must not be forgotten, that before he left Wales, his sickness and previous removals having completely exhausted his purse, several worthy persons of that principality, unknown to each other, sent him more than sufficient to defray the expenses of his intended journey. This the pious Prelate accounted a special providence, and he was duly thankful for it.

At Lady Peterborough's, however, where he was most kindly welcomed, he was doomed to encounter a fresh disturbance. The parliament had issued an order, that whosoever should arrive from any of the royal garrisons, should signify their names and residence to the Committee sitting at Goldsmith's Hall. To this injunction he conformed, by a messenger: but they insisted upon his personal appearance; and strictly inquired, 'where he had spent the whole interval since his departure from London, and whether he had permission to go to Oxford?' to which he replied, that 'he had a pass from a Committee of both Houses.' They demanded farther, 'whether Sir Charles Coote, or any other, ever desired him to use his power with the King for a toleration of religion in Ireland?' He answered, 'that no one had ever moved any such thing to him; but that as soon as he heard of the Irish agents coming to Oxford, he besought his Majesty not to adopt any religious regulations for Ireland without his knowledge, which he promised he would not: and, when the point of toleration came to be debated at the Council Board,

the King with all the Lords there absolutely denied it; and he professed for his part, that he was ever against it, as a thing dangerous to the Protestant religion.' The Chairman then tendered to him what was called 'the negative oath;' but he desired time to consider of it: upon which, he was dismissed. Mr. Selden, and others of his friends in the house, by their interest put a stop to farther inquiries.* Not long afterward, he retired with his noble protectress to her house at Ryegate in Surry, where he frequently preached, either in her chapel or in the parish-church of the place.


In the beginning of 1647, he was elected Preacher of Lincoln's Inn; and by the treasurer and the benchers (of whom his friend Mr. Hale, subsequently Lord Chief Justice, was one) allowed handsome lodgings ready-furnished, with apartments for his library, which about this time arrived from Chester. Here he was treated with the utmost respect, for nearly eight years; when his eye-sight and teeth beginning to fail him, so that he could not be well heard in so large a congregation, he was constrained, about a year and a half before his death, to the great concern of that Society, to resign his appointment.

During the negotiation in the Isle of Wight between the King and the parliament, he was permitted to wait upon his Majesty; and held several private conferences with him relative to the government of the Church, in the event of an accommodation taking place. After this, he saw his Sovereign no more till his execution. On that day being at

* An order was even made for paying him 400*l.* per ann.
though it is uncertain how long he received it.

the Countess of Pembroke's house near Charing Cross, he with extreme reluctance ascended to the roof; but, on the masked executioners beginning to tuck up the King's hair, he turned pale, and would have swooned if he had not been immediately carried off. So deeply affected was he by this catastrophe, that he kept the anniversary as a private fast during the remainder of his life.

His high reputation having excited in Cromwell a desire to see him, he was sent for to court, received there with the utmost respect, and protected by a pension from the recurrence of those difficulties, which had so frequently harassed his later years.

His last public exercise was, a Funeral Sermon over his friend Mr. Selden, in 1654, at the Temple Church. In 1655, he returned to Ryegate, and assiduously employed himself in making additions to his Sacred Chronology. But his eye-sight being considerably impaired, he could now only write at a window, and on clear days. He was still however apparently, for a man of his advanced age, healthy and vigorous; when on the twentieth of March he complained in the evening of a violent sciatica, and the next morning had strong symptoms of a pleurisy. During the intervals of pain, which he bore with great patience upward of fourteen hours, he was fervent in prayer, and in pious exhortations to  about him; and having taken an affectionate leave of Lady Peterborough, as the agonies of death came upon him, he desired to be left to his private devotions. The last words, which he was heard to utter just before he expired, were, "O Lord, forgive me, especially my sins of omission."

Thus died this truly excellent man, leaving behind

him a most unexceptionable character, especially for his moderation in ecclesiastical matters, for which he was charged by the high-church Prelates with puritanism and remissness. His relations intended to have buried him privately at Ryegate, as they were not able to defray the charge of a public funeral: but Cromwell gave orders, that he should be interred at his own expense with great magnificence in Westminster Abbey.

He, also, enjoined the executors not to sell his library without his consent. This, consisting of ten thousand volumes of print and manuscript, was eagerly sought for upon his decease by the King of Denmark and by Cardinal Mazarin. What had escaped the devastations of the times was finally, agreeably to his avowed desire, bestowed upon Trinity College, Dublin.

In person, Archbishop Usher was moderately tall, with an erect carriage, and features expressing gravity and benovolence combined. His mode of living was simple; his manners free, affable, and unaffected; and his temper so singularly sweet, that not one atom of acrimony seems to have entered into his composition. Exemplary for his piety and his humility, he appears indeed to have been better fitted for the business of the closet than that of the world; though he was not deficient, upon emergencies, in proper firmness of mind.

As an author, he was of the first repute in the period in which he lived; and published, both in Latin and English, many theological and polemical works. Others * made their appearance after his

* A volume of Theological Tracts, his '*Chronologia Sacra*,' the '*Historia Dogmatica Controversie*,' &c.

death. He left behind him, likewise, several manuscripts; among the rest ‘Notes and Observations on the Writings and Characters of the Fathers and Ecclesiastical Authors,’ which he intended as the basis of an elaborate production, to be entitled ‘*Theologica Bibliotheca*.’ These papers he bequeathed to the care of Dr. Langbaine, of Queen’s College, who dying in consequence of a severe cold caught in the execution of his friend’s design in 1657, the work dropped, though Dr. Fell made some attempts to get it finished. A copy of it, as far as it was carried, is preserved in the Bodleian library.

But the work, which has rendered his name illustrious wherever religious knowledge is revered, is his ‘Sacred Chronology, or Annals of the Old and New Testament, from the Beginning of the World to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian, A. D. 70, in two parts;’* the first, extending from the Creation to the time of the Maccabees, published by himself in 1650, and the second in 1654. His latest publication, ‘*De Græcâ LXX. Interpretum Versione Syntagma*,’ &c. contained certain notions respecting that translation, which have been regarded as more ingenious than solid. It has been reprinted in one volume in English, at London and at Dublin, and in Latin, at Paris and at Geneva; and the system, upon which it is constructed, has been almost universally adopted. The whole work, indeed, is justly considered as a repository of ancient history, and with respect to the Roman history in particular,

* He had planned a third part, which was to have reached to the beginning of the fourth century, but this he did not live to finish.

may generally be pronounced one of the best authorities extant. Beside these, three hundred of his Letters to his numerous correspondents, at home and abroad, were published, in one volume folio, by his chaplain Dr. Parr. His works, however, are generally so accessible, as to render extracts from them in the present compilation unnecessary.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[1599—1658.]

OLIVER CROMWELL was born at Huntingdon April 25, 1599. His family, of the name of Williams, was originally of Welsh extraction; but one of his ancestors marrying the sister of Thomas Cromwell Earl of Essex, a son by that marriage assumed his mother's maiden name, and transmitted it to his descendents.† Mr. Robert Cromwell, his father, was the second son of Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrook; and his mother was a sister of Sir Robert Stewart Knt., of the isle of Ely.‡ No extraordinary solicitude, it appears, was shown about his early education; as he continued, distinguished very probably chiefly by his turbulence and his boyish tricks,

* **AUTHORITIES.** Rapin, Harris' *Life of Cromwell*, Ludlow's *Memoirs*, and Salmon's *Chronological Historian*.

† For a minute account of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, both as to it's ancestry and it's posterity, with it's alliances matrimonial and political and their issue, see Noble's very elaborate 'Memoirs.'

‡ Descended of the royal house of Stuart, as appears from a pedigree of her family still extant. By Fuller we are told, that in a conversation with Bishop Goodman, the Protector passionately disclaimed all connexion with the Earl of Essex.

a day-scholar at the free school of Huntingdon till the age of seventeen. It is pretended, however, that during his boyhood occurred many striking presages of his future greatness. Of his enthusiastic turn, even at this early period of his life, several stories are recorded. One of these may be here introduced: as he was lying melancholy upon his bed in the day-time, he fancied he saw a gigantic female figure, which announced that ‘he should be the greatest man in the kingdom;’ and although his father requested his master would correct him severely for this his imaginary vision, and his uncle Stewart told him ‘it was too traitorous to be repeated,’ he persisted in affirming its truth. From his youth indeed, we learn through Sir Philip Warwick from one of his physicians, he was quite a splenetic, and had fancies about the cross in that town, and that he had himself been called to him at midnight: neither was he ever wholly free from them, even in the very height of his prosperity. At seven he was sent a fellow-commoner to Sidney College Cambridge, but without any fixed plan, as to his future destination in life: hence, instead of applying himself closely either to divinity, law, or physic, he devoted the greatest part of his time to manly exer-

* Extract from the Register of the College. ‘*Oliverus Cromwell, Huntingdoniensis, ad commentum sociorum Coll. Sid., Aprilis 23, 1616; Tutore Magistro Ricardo Hondet.*’

Between this entry and the next is crowded in, in a smaller hand or letter, the following character:

‘*Hic fuit grandis ille impostor, carnifex perditissimus, qui pientissimo rege Carolo I. nefariâ cæde sublato, ipsum usurpavit thronum, et tria regna per quinque ferme annorum spatium sub pris nomine indomitâ tyrannide vexavit.*’

Rooms at college are still remembered.

cises.* An active rather than a sedentary life seemed to be his choice, and polite more than abstruse learning, his favourite study; by which means, he acquired a competent knowledge of the Greek and Roman annals.

His father, a younger brother, did not possess an income sufficient for the decent support of his family, consisting of four sons and seven daughters. Mrs. Cromwell, therefore, without her husband's participation engaged in a branch of the brewing trade, applying the profits to raising portions for her daughters, for whom she procured advantageous matches. The eldest surviving was the wife of Mr. John Desborough, subsequently one of the Protector's Major Generals; another married first Roger Whetstone, Esq., and secondly Colonel John Jones, who was executed for having been one of the King's Judges; the third espoused Colonel Valentine Walton, who died in exile; and the fourth, Robina, married successivly Dr. Peter French, and Dr. John Wilkins, the latter a man eminent in the republic of letters, and after the Restoration Bishop of Chester.† Such was the

* The partiality of Dugdale and others in calling him "disolute and disorderly" at this period, and affirming that from his rough and blustering disposition he acquired the name of 'royster,' may be inferred from the knowledge, which (as Waller assures us) he had gained of the Grecian and Latin Histories, from his subsequent patronage of men of learning and science, and from his possessing a very valuable and well-chosen library.

† One of his aunts also, it may be added, married Francis Barrington, Esq., from whom descended the Barringtons of Essex; another married John Hampden, Esq. and bore to him the patriot of that name; a third was the mother of Colonel Whalley, to whose custody the King was entrusted at Hampton Court; and the fourth married Mr. Dunch.

situation of the family, when about two years after Oliver's removal to the University, his father died. Upon this event, he returned home; and the irregularity of his conduct giving great uneasiness to his surviving parent, she was advised to bring him up to the law. He was, in consequence, settled in Lincoln's Inn. His short residence at home, however, furnished an opportunity to the cavaliers to stile him 'a brewer,' and 'the son of a brewer.'*

A fortunate incident soon relieved him from a profession, which by no means suited his inclination. His maternal uncle, Sir Richard Stewart, at his death bequeathed him an estate of nearly five hundred pounds *per ann.*† Having now discovered the folly of dissipation, he prudently retired into the country, and became as remarkable for the sobriety of his conduct as he had previously been for it's profligacy and extravagance. For some time, he continued a devout member of the Church of England; but upon paying his addresses to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier of Felsted in Essex, whom at the age of twenty-one he married,‡ he became

* See Noble's Memoirs, I. 256, Note N. For the satires on his nose, ib. 292, D D; and for the lampoons upon his son and successor Richard, ib. 339, Y Y.

† He had previously, with his characteristic selfishness and subtilty, offended his gentleman by attempting (though ineffectually) to procure a commission of lunacy against him, with the view of being appointed administrator of his property; but his mother had effected a reconciliation between them.

‡ This lady, a woman of spirit and talents, but plain and proud, he gained more through the interest of his relations Hampden, Barrington, Stewart, &c. than his own. He made her however a tender, though not an uxorious or indeed a faithful husband, and she was an obedient, though not unrespecting, wife. Her jealousies can hardly be supposed to have reached

acquainted in that family with several Puritan ministers and gentlemen, whose sectarian sentiments he imbibed, and by their interest he was elected a second time for Huntingdon to serve in the third parliament of Charles I. in 1628.* By this parliament the King, as usual, wished the supplies to be granted, before they entered into any consideration of grievances: but the patriotic party insisted, that these two subjects should go hand in hand; and accordingly prepared a Petition of Right to be presented to his Majesty, before

so far as to Christina, Queen of Sweden. Their first son, Robert, who died a child, was born October 8, 1621.

* Cromwell had previously represented his native borough in the parliament of 1625. "Who," says Dr. South, who however had been lavish in fulsome compliments to the Protector while alive, "that had beheld such a bankrupt beggarly fellow as Cromwell first entering the parliament house, with a thread bare torn coat and a greasy hat (and, perhaps, neither of them paid for) could have suspected, that in the space of so few years he should, by the murder of one king and the banishment of another, ascend the throne, be invested in the royal robes, and want nothing of the state of a king but the changing of his hat into a crown?"

Sir Philip Warwick, a man of veracity, describes him in the house as "very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor: his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hatband: his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervor." Yet "I lived (he adds) to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill-will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes and by real but usurped power, having had a better tailor and more converse among good company in my own age, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his serjeant's hands and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence."

the supply which they had voted should receive the royal assent. In this celebrated Petition they prayed, ‘ That no loan, or tax, might be levied on the subject but by the consent of the parliament: that no man might be imprisoned, but by legal process: that soldiers might not be quartered upon people against their wills; and that no commissions might be granted for executing martial law.’ To which the King replied; ‘ I will that right be done, according to the laws and customs of the realm.’ The commons apprehending some subterfuge in this answer, as it was not expressed in the accustomed terms, resolved to demand of his Majesty a more explicit reply; and in both the debates upon this subject Cromwell took no inconsiderable part.

At length the King, perceiving that no pecuniary grant could be obtained (though he had threatened to dissolve the parliament) without giving his assent to the Petition of Right, passed it in the usual form of words, ‘ *Soit droit fait comme il est désiré* :’ upon which, the Commons readily voted an ample supply. This, however, by no means satisfied the court; for a scheme was now set on foot by the opposition to remonstrate against an ancient branch of the royal revenues, tonnage and poundage.* To prevent this violent attack on what Charles regarded as his prerogative, the parliament was prorogued for six months. But the length of the recess only furnished his enemies with an opportunity of fomenting discontents, and of forming strong parties throughout the kingdom; so that, upon their re-assembling, new grievances were brought forward, and as heavy a

* A duty on the importation of wine and merchandise.

complaint was made of the religious as of the civil state of the nation. His Majesty, however, still adhering to the affair of tonnage and poundage, required in his speech from the throne, that 'it might be settled upon him for life as it had been on his ancestors.' The Commons, on the contrary, resolved to proceed first upon the state of religion, on account of the increase of Arminianism and the encouragement given to Popish tenets. To this they were instigated by Mr. John Pym; a senator, whose integrity endeared him to his country, and whose opposition to the arbitrary measures of administration, founded on a perfect knowledge and love of the constitution and sustained by the advantages of a powerful elocution, rendered his influence in parliament unrivalled. By him it was moved, that 'the House should bind itself to maintain their religion and rights;' and Cromwell supported the motion in a speech, in which he expressly denounced Neile Bishop of Winchester as the patron of Popery.

This bold proceeding, joined to the effectual opposition which he had given during the recess to the execution of a plan concerted by the King and the Earl of Bedford for draining the fens in Lincolnshire and the Isle of Ely,* attracted public notice, and he began to be talked of as a rising patriot. He was, in consequence, chosen upon several Committees respecting the state of the nation. The first, in which he acted, was the Committee on religion; but the officers of the customs having seized the merchandise

* This, as the commonalty had a right of commoning and fishing in dry times, was an extremely unpopular measure, and its defeat gained for Cromwell the title of 'Lord of the Fens.'

of Mr. Rolles a member of the House, and detained it for the duties of tonnage and poundage, in which procedure they were justified by his Majesty, the injured senator complained of a breach of privilege; and the consideration of his grievance for a time absorbed that of all others. This rash innovation on the part of the crown was immediately voted a breach of privilege; and a protestation was drawn up by the patriotic party, declaring, 'That whoever should sanction innovations in religion, or seek to introduce Popery or Arminianism; and whoever should advise the taking of tonnage and poundage not granted by parliament, or should pay the same, should be accounted enemies to the kingdom.' The Speaker, who was hostile to this proceeding, and had refused to put the question whether it should be read, was held by force in the chair, and the doors were locked while it was voted; after which the House adjourned, though it was known that the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod was in waiting with a message from his Majesty. The ministry widened the breach, by advising that the members, who had been most active upon this occasion, should be taken into custody under warrants from the Privy Council; and, on their refusing to be responsible for what they had said or done in the house, committed to the Tower. Informations were afterward exhibited against them, for a riot, in the Court of Star-Chamber; and as they excepted to it's jurisdiction, removed to the King's Bench. Here they were adjudged to be confined during the King's pleasure, and Sir John Elliot died in prison. This should be considered as, virtually, a declaration of war on the part of Charles, and hence-

forward we may pronounce the civil compact between him and his subjects dissolved. Neither Pym, nor Cromwell, was among the imprisoned members.

Upon the dissolution of this parliament, he returned into the country, where he continued to express much concern for religion, and to frequent silenced ministers, inviting them often likewise to lectures and sermons at his house. This involving him in considerable expenses, with a view of repairing his fortune he took a farm at St. Ives; which however only increasing his difficulties, after five years of mismanagement he was obliged to give it up.

The King now resolved to govern without parliaments, the soul of the constitution; and having devised various means of levying money as well for the support of his household as for the administration of his civil government, all equally illegal,* many gentlemen resolved to dispose of their property real and personal, and to leave the kingdom. To this voluntary exile, they were farther impelled by the severe proceedings of the Courts of Star-Chamber and High-Commission, the sentences of which were most degrading and oppressive. To intercept their emigration, a proclamation was issued in 1637, laying an embargo on all ships outward-bound having passengers on board, till they should obtain a licence for quitting the realm from the Lords of the Council appointed for the business of Foreign Plantations. The intention of the emigrants was, to settle in New England, for the purpose of

(10)
* Such as, monopolies of salt, soap, leather, coals, pins, &c. and assessments for ship-money, the payment of which was exacted under the penalty of fine and imprisonment.

enjoying their religious and civil rights, without any design of disturbing the government at home; which they thought would in time be reformed, either by the natural death of the King, or by the usual operation of enormous tyranny. Of this party, beside Hampden, was Oliver Cromwell, who from his scanty fortune could have no other prospect in the wilds of America than that of peaceable retirement.* He had even meditated this migration, we are told, before he quitted Lincoln's Inn.

Out of parliament, Cromwell seems to have acted with signal prudence and caution: accordingly, though the nation was in a general ferment, and he probably deemed this embargo a fresh infringement of personal liberty, he passed his time quietly in the Isle of Ely, devoting himself to religious rather than to political studies, frequenting the meetings of the non-conformists, and distinguishing himself only by his 'gifts' (as they were then called) of praying, preaching, and expounding. At last the misguided Monarch, having exhausted all his miserable expedients for raising money, found himself in April 1640 under the necessity of calling a parliament. In this Cromwell, by a series of intrigues not then alas! practised for the last

* Yet this man thus embarked, if we may believe some writers of his life, had conceived hopes of a crown from the time that he acted the character of *Tartus*, at Huntingdon-school, in a play entitled *LINGUA*, in which the hero is supposed to have stumbled accidentally against a crown and a robe! The emphatical lines are;

Was ever man so fortunate as I,
To break his shins at such a stumbling-block?

By the result of this fatal inhibition, the classical reader will inevitably be reminded of the *Turno tempus erit*, &c. of the Mantuan bard.

time in corporate bodies, was chosen to represent the town of Cambridge. This parliament however, although it assembled with great appearances of a tendency to accommodation, upon a mutual misapprehension occasioned by Sir Henry Vane,* was abruptly dissolved; Charles contenting himself with the subsidies granted by the Convocation, and the voluntary contributions of some of the nobility and gentry, with which he raised an army of 20,000 men to prosecute the Scottish war. But one of his detachments being defeated by the enemy at Newcastle, and all his magazines falling into their hands, a council of peers, which he had summoned at York, advised him to enter into a treaty, and a cessation of arms took place. The unsettled state of the kingdom occasioning petitions from the city of London and other corporations for a new parliament, his Majesty complied; and in the memorable Long Parliament, which met in November 1640, Cromwell was again returned for Cambridge. His attendance on the house now became extremely close, his speeches frequent, and his activity in opposition to the court singularly conspicuous. Nor was he less zealous in promoting petitions against the Bishops, for their severe proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts. He had, likewise, a principal share in the Remonstrance upon the state of the nation, in which the enormities of the government were strongly pointed out. This remonstrance was carried † after several warm debates, and ordered to be printed, December 15, 1641.

* See the Life of Laud.

† Upon this occasion, Cromwell again determined to leave England for ever, if it should not pass.

At length, upon the breaking out of the civil war, Cromwell exhibited a new character; for having obtained a captain's commission from the Commons, and raised a troop of horse in the country, both in the choice of his men, and in his manner of disciplining them, he displayed the strongest evidences of military genius. His followers were remarkable for their sobriety, industry, and bravery. They were chiefly the sons of freeholders, who being taught to believe that they were fighting for the defence of their property, and acting upon principles of conscience, could not fail to vanquish common mercenaries.

His first military exploit of consequence was, his securing the town of Cambridge for the parliament.* Not long afterward, he seized Sir Thomas Coningsby, High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, on his road to St. Alban's, where he was about to proclaim the parliamentary officers traitors. For these services he received the thanks of the House, and was promoted to a colonelcy. He now enlarged his plan of operations, and with his regiment of a thousand horse overawed the recruiting parties of the royalists in several counties; having not only made himself in the space of a few months a good officer, though he did not assume the military character till he was in his forty-third-year, but also converted his new-raised men

* He very narrowly missed seizing the University-plate, which had but just been sent off to the King. About this time, probably, he visited his uncle and godfather, Sir Oliver Cromwell, at Ramsey (as the old gentleman himself told Sir Philip Warwick) "with a good strong party of horse, and exhibited a strong trait of his character in asking his blessing, refusing to be covered in his presence, and—plundering him of his arms and all his plate."

into excellent soldiers within the same short period. The means he employed are detailed in one of his own speeches, in which he relates a conversation between Hampden and himself on the inferiority of the parliamentary forces. “ “ Your troops,” said I, “ are most of them old decayed serving men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows ; and their troops are gentlemen’s younger sons, and persons of good quality. And do you think, that the mean spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them ? You must get men of a spirit ; and, take it not ill what I say, of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still : ” I told him so. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. I told him, “ I could do somewhat in it : ” and I accordingly raised such men, as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did. And from that time forward they were never beaten, but wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually.’ Here we perceive the master-mind, applying to the best advantage the instruments and principles, with which he was to act. His levies consisted of his countrymen, substantial yeomen or their sons, all acquainted with him and with one another. He trained them in excellent discipline, and inspired them with the true pride of soldiers. By way of trying their steadiness, he placed at their first muster a dozen troopers in ambuscade, who suddenly rushed out upon them. About twenty of his recruits instantly fled. These he cashiered, and enlisted

bolder spirits in their place. And he engaged their confidence, by telling them plainly he did not mean to cozen them with the perplexed terms in his commission, "to fight for King and Parliament:" for should the King be in the opposite army, he would as soon fire his pistol upon him, as upon another man.

In the spring of 1643, having settled matters in the six associated counties, Essex, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, he advanced into Lincolnshire; where he restrained the royal garrison at Newark, gave a check to the Earl of Newcastle's troops at Horncastle, and performed various other services. The Scots having been invited into England by the parliament, it was resolved that the army under the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell (now Lieutenant General of the Horse) should join them before York, which they were then closely investing. This junction was effected, chiefly through the activity of the latter. He most eminently signalised himself, however, at the battle of Marston Moor, fought July 3, 1644, where with his cavalry (commonly called 'Iron-sides') he recovered the day from Prince Rupert, after it had been lost by Manchester, Fairfax, and Leven.* He, now, became the general theme of conversation; but, as he was greatly envied by his brother-officers, it was not yet his time to aim at the chief command. The Earls of Essex and Manchester were his most powerful adversaries:

* In the second battle of Newbury, September 7, in the same year, he is said to have made so bold a charge upon the royal guards, that the King's person would have been in the utmost danger, if the old Earl of Cleveland had not preserved his master's liberty at the expense of his own.

the latter, in particular, having been charged by him with cowardice, had vowed his destruction; yet such was his hold upon the good opinion of the Commons, that after a very bold speech of his in the House, it was resolved to new-model the army, and to pass 'The Self-Denying Ordinance,' by which all members of parliament were excluded from civil and military employments; and the Earls of Essex and Manchester, with several other general officers, were in consequence dismissed.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was now appointed Commander in Chief; and, by a strange evasion of their own law, Cromwell's senatorial services were dispensed with, that he might co-operate with Fairfax, under whom he was speedily appointed Lieutenant General of the army. He did not remain a single day inactive, but in his way to the main army at Gainsborough defeated the Earl of Northampton and Lord Goring, and made himself master of Blechington House. By the historians of the civil war it is observed, that though Fairfax had the chief command in title and appearance, Cromwell was in fact the acting General. The former possessed great personal valour, and was indefatigably diligent; but he wanted genius and foresight. Nothing, therefore, could be more fortunate for the parliament, than the strict friendship which bound him to Cromwell: so sensible, indeed, were the royalists of this, that they made several attempts to foment a misunderstanding between them, but in vain.

Cromwell had not long joined the main army before the decisive battle of Naseby was fought (June 14, 1645) the success of which, as previously at Marston Moor, was chiefly owing to the troops under his per-

sonal command : for the King's infantry had routed those opposed to them under Fairfax, and had taken their ordnance ; when Cromwell, who had broken the enemy's left wing, flew to their assistance, and recovered the victory. It should not be omitted, that in his despatches to parliament upon this and all other successes of a similar kind, though notoriously owing to his own judgement and intrepidity, he always gave the honour of the day to his principal ; which generosity still farther endeared him to the General, and to the whole army. For these services he received 2500*l. per ann.* by a vote of parliament.

His next memorable expedition was against the Club-men, a kind of freebooters, who had formed an army independent of both parties ; and, under colour of the example set them by the royalists in the west of England, thought themselves at liberty to subsist by universal rapine. Upon his appearance, the insurrection was totally quelled.

After this service, he joined Fairfax before Bristol, and by his advice a general assault was made with such fury, that Prince Rupert, dreading a second surrender, for which he was ordered to leave the kingdom. He then took possession successively of the strong castle at the Devizes, the city of Winchester, and several other places of inferior note ; assisted Fairfax in the storming of Dartmouth, defeated Lord Hopton at Torrington, and subsequently went in pursuit of Prince Charles, who was at the head of about 5000 horse and 1000 foot in Cornwall, but on his approach sought refuge in the isles of Scilly. Exeter surrendered soon afterward ; and, the west of England being thus entirely subjected to parliament,

Cromwell in December, 1646, resumed his seat, and received the thanks of the House for his signal services to his country. At the same time, the King sent no less than ten letters and messages from Oxford, offering ‘to reside with the parliament and to disband his forces, provided his followers might be at liberty to return home and remain unquestioned.’ In reply to these applications he was informed, that ‘it would be unsafe for him to return to Westminster, till he had given his consent to the propositions then under deliberation :’ and to prevent his making the experiment, the House voted that ‘if he should come, or attempt to come, within the lines of communication, the Committee of the militia of London should have power, and were thereby enjoined, to apprehend such as should come with him, to prevent resort unto him, and to secure his person.’ By the moderate members, particularly Denzil Lord Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, this message and vote were opposed: but, on the death of Pym and Hampden,* the interest of the Presbyterians had gradually declined; while that of the Independents, of which faction Cromwell was become chief, had by the ‘Self-Denying Ordinance’ acquired considerable strength. Though it was now perceived, however, that Cromwell aimed at the generalship, none had yet fathomed his deeper design of getting the King into his power. But from his correspondence with Fairfax, he had learnt that the royal cause was nearly ruined, and he was unwilling that Charles should enter into any treaty with a parliament containing several members, who though they opposed

* In 1643.

his mal-administration, had no evil designs against his dignity.

During these transactions in London, Fairfax was marching with a powerful army to lay siege to Oxford, which was unable to hold out against him. In this unhappy emergency, Charles fatally listened to the advice of Montreuil the French Ambassador, and privately repaired to the Scottish army, then lying before Newark; a measure deeply regretted by his remaining friends. In the mean while, the dissensions between the Presbyterians and the Independents increased. The King by the advice of the Scots, who were secretly in the interest of the latter, issued orders to all his garrisons to surrender. Oxford took the lead, and the civil war being thus in a great measure terminated, Fairfax entered London in triumph. A scheme was now concerted by the Presbyterians to disband part of the army, particularly some of the Independent regiments, and to send others over to Ireland. But Cromwell having with his usual address obtained timely notice of their design, through Colonel Ireton his son-in-law, insinuated to the whole army, that ‘parliament intended to turn them adrift without paying their arrears, or to consign them in Ireland to the fangs of sickness and famine.’ Upon which the soldiers determined to claim a share in the government, appointed from their officers a standing council to the General, and selected three or four corporals or serjeants out of each regiment as their representatives, under the title of ‘Agitators.’ These councillors and delegates, who met separately, concurred in declaring, ‘That they would not be disbanded till their full arrears were discharged, and till complete provision was made for

liberty of conscience, which had been hitherto little secured;' adding, 'That as they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were a part, before they laid them down again, they would see all those ends provided for.' This strenuous and timely declaration, delivered at the bar of the House by a Committee of the army-council, is generally regarded as having not only saved Cromwell from impeachment,* but laid the foundation of his future power.

He now by his influence with Fairfax, though a Presbyterian, engaged him to address a letter to the parliament in support of a petition from the army; in consequence of which, deputies were appointed to treat with a Committee of Officers. The political address, in other words, the duplicity of Cromwell (who successively during these transactions deceived the army, the parliament, and the King, for the purpose of preventing that combination between them which would have been his ruin) did not escape the notice of the moderate and the sensible of all parties: for, while he secretly fomented discontent in the camp, in parliament he made the turbulence of the soldiery the theme of his invective, and even recommended the adoption of violent measures to suppress the increasing commotion. As it was well known, however, that the chief mutineers were personally devoted to his interests, and the army had now become alarmingly formidable, his enemies were advised to lay aside their project of impeaching him. In the mean time Cromwell, having received intelligence of their private meetings, resolved to expel

* By Denzil Lord Holles.

them from the House; and an important event speedily furnished him with the means of carrying his design into execution.

In the beginning of the year 1647 the Scots, in consideration of the sum of 400,000*l.* claimed for army-arrears and various state-services, delivered up the King to Commissioners sent by the English parliament to receive him; a procedure, not only grossly contrary to their oath of allegiance, but involving also a direct violation of that article of the law of nations, which pronounces the person even of an Ambassador, the mere representative of Majesty, sacred. Cromwell now resolved to hazard one bold stroke, in order to secure his fortune beyond the probability of a reversal. Perceiving a growing inclination in the two Houses to treat with their captive Sovereign, he engaged the army to present a dutiful address to his Majesty, offering to 'replace him on the throne independently of the concurrence of the parliament, and to make him the most powerful Prince in Europe. Charles, unhappily for himself, lent an ear to this treacherous proposal, and still more certainly to seal his own ruin, was guilty of insincerity in his negotiation with Cromwell. To facilitate this negotiation however, Cromwell met Joyce with a military detachment, and a verbal order to seize his person * at Holdenby (commonly called Holmby) House in Northamptonshire: a violence, at which there is reason to suspect, from the good understanding subsisting between his Majesty and the army, and the high respect with which he had been treated by them, he secretly connived; as delivering him from the power of a body, who had

* This was effected June 4, 1647.

already given him great disgust by appointing Marshal and Caryl, two Presbyterian ministers, to be his domestic chaplains.

Cromwell now threw off the mask, set the House of Commons at defiance, and boasted among his friends, 'that by having the King in his hands, he had the parliament in his pocket.' His Majesty was removed to his palace at Newmarket, where he continued to be treated with due honour by the army: free access was granted to his person, his former chaplains and servants were replaced, he pursued his accustomed recreations, and he was overwhelmed by Cromwell with vehement professions of immutable attachment.

The parliament perceiving that their influence was on the decline, and that the army would speedily become their master, began too late to show a resolution and activity, which if it had been sooner exerted, would probably have stifled the ambition of Cromwell in it's birth. The city of London was put in a posture of defence, and the army was ordered to remove forty miles from it's walls. It was, likewise, resolved to send dutiful addresses to the King, with proposals for a reconciliation. The army however, instead of obeying the vote respecting their removal, delivered a representation to the House of Commons, desiring that 'it might be purged of seditious members, and that a period might be fixed for it's dissolution, as it had already sat beyond the limit assigned for it's existence by the constitution.' This representation producing no effect, they impeached Lord Holles, Sir William Waller, and nine other members, who had uniformly opposed their proceedings: and subsequently, to convince the two Houses of the little

interest which they possessed in the city, they excited an insurrection of the citizens, who tumultuously demanded that 'the King should be brought to London, and that they should put an end to their sitting.' Upon this, they adjourned in great confusion: the Speakers, Lenthall and the Earl of Manchester, with about fifty members, fled to the army for protection, and the eleven impeached members left the kingdom. Cromwell, who had raised the storm, beheld it raging with secret joy; and so fully convinced Charles, now at Hampton Court, of his power and of his fidelity, that when Fairfax tendered his services, his Majesty indiscreetly replied, to the great disgust of that General, "Sir, I have as good interest in the army as yourself."

The parliament, in their treaty with Charles, among other articles had stipulated, that Cromwell should only receive the title of Baron; but at the same time, privately engaged to create Earl of Essex, to make him a Knight of the Garter,* and to advance his son Richard and General Ireton to posts of honour and emolument. When this compact, however, was on the point of ratification, they learnt from one of their spies (a member of the royal

* Lord Bolingbroke informed Mr. Pope and the Earl of Marchmont in 1742, that he had seen an original letter of Charles I. to his Queen, written in answer to one of hers (which had been intercepted, and subsequently forwarded to him), wherein she reproached him for 'having made those villains too great concessions.' In his reply, he desired her to 'leave the management to him, who was better informed of all circumstances than she could be; for that he should know in time how to deal with the rogues, who instead of a silken garter should have a hempen one.' This letter too was intercepted, and decided his fate. Lord Oxford offered 500*l.* for the orig

bed-chamber), that 'their final doom was that day fixed, as a letter was despatched to the Queen, then in France, sewed up in the skirt of a saddle.' This they intercepted, and from it's perusal discovered that his Majesty, notwithstanding his earnest professions, had determined to close with the overtures of their opponents. From this moment Cromwell's ambition took a larger scope, and under the additional impulse of personal resentment, he now resolved at once to attempt the King's destruction and his own elevation to supreme power.

In the mean time the remains of the parliament, recovered from their first consternation, met at Westminster and chose new Speakers, Lord Hunsdon for the Upper, and Mr. Henry Pelham for the Lower House. They next resolved to levy troops: the Trained Bands were ordered to guard the lines, and nothing was to be heard in every direction but the din of military preparation. Upon the approach of the army however, a general dislike to the parliamentary service appeared, and the first detachment which presented itself before Southwark were readily admitted by those, who had been placed there for it's defence. The whole army speedily followed, and passing through the city to Westminster, replaced Lenthal and Manchester in their respective chairs: after which the parliament was 'new-modelled,' as the army had been some years before, by Cromwell and the Independents.

The King, informed of the detection of his treachery, and of the triumphant entry of the army into London, privately withdrew from Hampton Court to Titchfield, a seat belonging to the Earl of Southampton, whence he was unfortunately persuaded

to pass over to the Isle of Wight, and place himself under the protection of the governor, the nephew of his favourite chaplain. But Hammond, who had married a daughter of Hampden, and was devoted to Cromwell, immediately sent advice to that General of his Majesty's arrival.

A correspondence * now took place between them, in which Cromwell anxiously endeavoured to remove some of Hammond's scruples on the subject of his royal charge. Part of it, as a specimen of his mode of reasoning, is here subjoined :

‘ DEAR ROBIN,

Nov. 25, 1648.

‘ No man rejoiceth more to see a line from thee, than myself. I know thou hast long been under trial. Thou shalt be no loser by it. All must work for the best. Thou desirest to hear of my experience. I can tell thee, I am such a one as thou didst formerly know, having a body of sin and death ; but I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, there is no condemnation, though much infirmity, and I wait for the redemption ; and in this poor condition I obtain mercy and sweet consolation through the Spirit, and find abundant cause every day to exalt the Lord, —abase flesh. And herein I have some exercise.

‘ As to outward dispensations, if we may so call them, we have not been without our share of beholding some remarkable providences and appearances of the Lord. His presence hath been amongst us, and by the light of his countenance we have prevailed.

* See a Collection of Original Letters, lately published, that passed between them and the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby House, Generals Fairfax and Ireton, &c. with relation to that unfortunate Monarch.

We are sure, the good will of him who dwelt in the bush shined upon us; and we can humbly say, we know in whom we have believed, who is able and will perfect what remaineth, and us also in doing what is well-pleasing in his eye-sight.

‘ Because I find some trouble in your spirit, occasioned first, not only by the continuance of your sad and heavy burthen, as you call it, upon you; but by the dissatisfaction you take at the ways of some good men, whom you love with your heart, who through this principle, that it is lawful for a lesser part (if in the right) to force, &c.

‘ To the first:—call not your burthen ‘ sad nor heavy.’ If your Father lay it upon you, he intended neither. He is the Father of lights, from whom comes every good and perfect gift, who of his own will begot us, and bade us count it all joy when such things befall us; they being for the exercise of faith and patience, *whereby in the end* (James i.) *we shall be made perfect.*

‘ Dear Robin, our fleshly reasonings ensnare us. These make us say, *Heavy, sad, pleasant, easy!* Was there not a little of this when Robert Hammond, through dissatisfaction too, desired retirement from the army, and thought of quiet in the Isle of Wight? Did not God find him out there? I believe he will never forget this. And now I perceive he is to seek again, partly through his sad and heavy burthen, and partly through dissatisfaction with friends’ actings. Dear Robin, thou and I were never worthy to be door-keepers in this service. If thou wilt seek, seek to know the mind of God in all that chain of providence, *whereby* God brought thee thither, and that person to thee: how before and since

God has ordered him, and ^{*}affairs concerning him: and then tell me, whether there be not some glorious and high meaning in all this, above what thou hast yet attained. And laying aside thy fleshly reason, seek of the Lord to teach thee what that is; and he will do it. I dare be positive to say, it is not, that the wicked should be exalted, that God should so appear, as indeed he hath done. For there is no peace to them: no, it is set upon the hearts of such as fear the Lord; and we have witness upon witness, that it shall go ill with them and their partakers. I say again, seek that Spirit to teach thee, which is the Spirit of knowledge and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, of wisdom and of the fear of the Lord. That Spirit will close thine eyes, and stop thine ears, so that thou shalt not judge by them; but thou shalt judge for the meek of the earth, and thou shalt be made able to do accordingly. The Lord direct thee to that, which is well-pleasing in **his** eyesight!

‘ As to thy dissatisfaction with friends acting upon that supposed principle, I wonder not at that. If a man take not his own burthen well, he shall hardly others; especially, if involved by so near a relation of love and christian brotherhood as thou art. I shall not take upon me to satisfy, but I hold myself bound to lay my thoughts before, so dear a friend. The Lord do his own will!

‘ You say, “ God hath appointed authorities among the nations, to which active or passive obedience is to be yielded. This resides in England in the parliament. Therefore active or passive, &c.” Authorities and powers are the ordinance of God. This ~~or that~~ species is of human institution, and ~~limited~~.

some with larger, others with stricter bands, each one according to it's constitution. I do not, therefore, think the authorities may do any thing, and yet such obedience due; but all agree, there are cases, in which it is lawful to resist. If so, your ground fails, and so likewise the inference. Indeed, dear Robin, not to multiply words, the query is, Whether ours be such a case? This, ingenuously, is the true question. To this I shall say nothing, though I could say very much; but only desire thee to see, what thou findest in thy own heart as to two or three plain considerations: First, whether *salus populi* be a sound position? Secondly, whether in the way in hand, really and before the Lord, before whom conscience must stand, this be provided for; or the whole fruit of the war like to be frustrated, and almost like to turn to what it was, and worse; and this contrary to engagements, declarations, implicit covenants with those who ventured their lives upon those covenants and engagements, without whom perhaps, in equity, relaxation ought not to be? Thirdly, whether this army be not a lawful power, called by God to oppose and fight against the King upon some stated grounds; and, being in power to such ends, may not oppose one name of authority for those ends, as well as another: the outward authority, that called them, not by their power making the quarrel lawful, but it being so in itself? If so, it may be, acting will be justified in *foro humano*. But truly these kind of reasonings may be but fleshly, either with or against; only it is good to try, what truth may be in them. And the Lord teach us!

‘ My dear friend, let us look into providences; surely they mean somewhat. They hang so toge-

ther, have been so constant, so clear and unclouded. Malice, swollen malice against God's people, now called 'saints,' to root out their name: and yet they by providence having arms; and therein blessed with defence, and more.

'I desire he, that is for a principle of suffering, would not too much slight this. I slight not him, who is so minded; but let us beware, lest fleshly reasoning see more safety in making use of the principle, *than in acting. Who acts, and resolves not through God to be willing to part with all?* Our hearts are very deceitful, on the right and on the left. What think you of providence disposing the hearts of so many of God's people this way, especially in this poor army, wherein the great God has vouchsafed to appear? I know not one officer amongst us, but is on the increasing hand: and let me say, it is *here in the north, after much patience*, we trust the ~~same~~ Lord, who hath framed our minds in our acting, is with us in this also. And this, contrary to a natural tendency, and to those comforts our hearts could wish to enjoy with others. And the difficulties probably to be encountered with, and enemies, not few; even all that is glorious in this world with appearance of united names, titles, and authorities: and yet not terrified, only desiring to fear our great God, that we do nothing against his will. Truly, this is our condition.

'And, to conclude, we in this northern army were in a waiting posture, desiring to see what the Lord would lead us to. And a declaration is put out, at which many are shaken, although we could perhaps have wished the stay of it till after the treaty; yet, ~~seeing~~ it is come out, we trust to rejoice in the will

of the Lord, waiting his farther pleasure. Dear Robin, beware of men, look up to the Lord. Let him be free to speak and command in thy heart. Take heed of the things, I fear thou hast reasoned thyself into; and thou shalt be able through him, without consulting flesh and blood, to do valiantly for him and for his people. Thou mentionest somewhat, as if by acting against such opposition, as is like to be, there will be a tempting of God. Dear Robin, tempting of God ordinarily is either by acting presumptuously in carnal confidence, or in unbelief through diffidence: both these ways Israel tempted God in the wilderness, and he was grieved with them. The encountering difficulties, therefore, makes us not to tempt God; but acting before and without faith. If the Lord have in any measure persuaded his people (as generally he hath) of the lawfulness, nay of the duty, this persuasion prevailing upon the heart is faith; and acting thereupon is acting in faith; and the more the difficulties are, the more faith. And it is most sweet that he, that is not persuaded, have patience towards them that are, and judge not; and this will free thee from the trouble of others actings, which, thou sayest, adds to thy grief. Only let me offer two or three things, and I have done.

• Dost thou not think, that fear of the Levellers (of whom there is no fear) that they would destroy nobility, had caused some to rake up corruption, to find it lawful to *make this ruining hypocritical agreement* on one part? Hath not this biassed even some good men? I will not say, their fear will come upon them; but, if it do, they will themselves bring it upon themselves. Have not some of our friends by their passive principle (which I judge not,

only I think it liable to temptation as the active ; and neither good, but as we are led into them by God—neither to be reasoned into, because the heart is deceitful) been occasioned to overlook what is just and honest ; and think the people of God may have as much, or more good the one way, than the other? Good by this man ! against whom the Lord hath witnessed, and whom thou knowest ! Is this so in their hearts, or is it reasoned, forced in ?—Robin, I have done. Ask we our hearts, whether we think, that after all these dispensations, the like to which many generations cannot afford, should end in so corrupt reasonings of good men ; and should so hit the designings of bad ? Thinkest thou in thy heart, that the glorious dispensations of God point out to this, or to teach his people to trust in him, and to wait for better things, when, it may be, better are sealed to many of their spirits ? And as a poor looker-on, I had rather live in the hope of that spirit, and take my share with them, expecting a good issue, than be led away with the other. This trouble I have been at, because my soul loves thee, and I would not have thee swerve, nor lose any glorious opportunity the Lord puts into thy hand. The Lord be thy counsellor ! Dear Robin,

‘ I rest thine,

Nov. 25, 1648.

‘ O. CROMWELL.’

A Council of Officers was now summoned at Windsor, where it was resolved, that Charles should be impeached as a traitor to his country. The first step adopted with this view in parliament was, to procure an order to Hammond to confine him in Carisbrook Castle, and to expel all his friends and

adherents from the island. Four propositions, also, were forwarded to his Majesty for his assent: the first, requiring him to invest the parliament with full power over the militia for twenty years, together with authority at all times to levy the necessary supplies of money; the second, obliging him to recall all his declarations and proclamations against them, and to acknowledge them to have taken arms for their just and necessary defence; the third, insisting that he should annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had passed the Great Seal, since it had been carried from London by the Lord Keeper Littleton; and the fourth, claiming for the two Houses power to adjourn whenever they should think proper. To these propositions however, as also to a proposal of putting down episcopacy and alienating the church-lands, Charles firmly refused his assent.

Cromwell and Ireton, who had made themselves extremely conspicuous throughout the whole of this business, were eminently bold in the debate upon this occasion. The first in particular observed, "That his Majesty was a man of great understanding, but withal so great a dissembler and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted;" and threatened (it is asserted) even the parliament itself, if they gave the army any farther cause of jealousy, clapping his hand upon his sword at the close of his speech; the object of which was to recommend, 'That no more addresses or applications should be made to the King, nor any message received from him, under the penalty of high-treason.'

In 1648, great numbers who disapproved of the measures adopted against their Sovereign, rose in

different parts of England; and a formidable body of Welchmen, acting by commission from the Prince of Wales, confederated in his behalf. Associations, likewise, in support of the royal cause were formed in almost every county. These, employing the military power, left the city of London and the parliament in some measure unawed; and the former in consequence, on the twenty-seventh of June, petitioned for a personal treaty with the King, which was favourably received. The Commons also shortly afterward recalled their vote for non-addresses, resolved that his Majesty's concessions were satisfactory, and even attempted to impeach Cromwell of high-treason.

Cromwell, however, speedily subdued the Welch insurgents, and took their commanders prisoners; and the town of Colchester, where the strongest party of Royalists was shut up, being obliged to surrender, the commotions gradually ceased.

The army now sent a remonstrance to the Lower House against their late proceedings by the hand of Colonel Ewer, who immediately after the delivery of it hastened to the Isle of Wight, and seizing the King's person conveyed him to Hurst Castle. The troops next marched to London, and taking possession of the city, 'purged' (as they termed it) the House of Commons, and compelled the remainder to sanction all their measures. In many of these proceedings Cromwell appeared personally active, and he is upon good grounds believed to have directed them all. But the Scots were less easily pacified: they asserted, that 'the parliament had violated the condition upon which they delivered up the King,' and with the view of retrieving their national honour, sent Duke Hamilton into England at the head of a power-

ful army; but their efforts, too late to be effectual, only served to hasten his fate. Cromwell by his genius and valour put a stop to this incursion, totally routing the forces engaged in it, and taking their General prisoner. He next reduced Carlisle and Berwick, and entering Scotland in triumph, caused a proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, prohibiting upon pain of death the seizure of any goods or chattels belonging to the Scots; and announcing that 'his sole object was to free their realm from the faction of the Hamiltons, without any intention hostile to their liberties as a nation.' Agreeably to this declaration, after marching to Edinburgh, and dismissing that party from all offices of public trust, he returned to England, and received the thanks of the Commons.

In all the proceedings relative to the execution of Charles, Cromwell was not only the principal adviser, but the boldest agent. When others felt, or suggested doubts about the equity of the intended trial,* he opposed them with menaces and arguments alternately; and he was the only man, who undertook to overrule the Scottish Commissioners, when they laid before the parliament their protest against putting the King to death.

On his Majesty's decease, the inconsiderable part of the Lower House, which held the reins of government under the denomination of 'a Commonwealth,' relying upon the support of the army, voted the kingly office unnecessary and burthensome, and the House 'of Peers dangerous and useless. Peers,

* For the formalities and circumstances of this memorable procedure, the reader is referred to Rapin's and Carte's 'Histories of England.'

however, were declared capable of being elected representatives of the people: but of this privilege only three noblemen availed themselves, the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, and Lord Howard of Eserick. The rest entered upon their Journals, and published, a protestation in the name of all the Peers of the realm, against all acts, votes, and orders of parliament, which should be made during their exclusion. The parliament likewise issued a proclamation, and afterward passed an act, declaring it 'high-treason to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, commonly called the Prince of Wales, or any other person, King of England;' and such members, as had voted for accepting the concessions of the late King for a peace, were excluded from the House. This vote reduced the remainder to less than one hundred; and these being considered by 'the Cavaliers' (so the friends of Charles II. were denominated) as the dregs of the Long Parliament, they called them in derision 'The Rump.'

The next act of the new government was to nominate a Council of State, consisting of forty persons, Cromwell being one, in whom they vested the executive authority; and from this time all writs, formerly running in the King's name, were issued in the names of 'The Keepers of the Liberty of England:' the old Great Seal was broken, and a new one substituted, having on one side a red cross and a harp quartered as the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription, 'The Great Seal of England;' and, on the reverse, a representation of the House of Commons assembled, with this legend, 'In the first year of Freedom by God's grace restored, 1649,' Instead of a head, the same arms were impressed on the coin

with this device, 'God with us.' A new oath was, likewise, administered to all persons in office, 'To be true and faithful to the government established, without King or House of Peers.'

But as the existence of this new government depended upon the principal military officers, it was declared high-treason to contrive the death of the General or Lieutenant General; and Cromwell, thus provided with a security to his person, abolished the Council of 'Agitators,' and caused two soldiers of his own regiment of infantry to be shot by two of their brother-mutineers, in the front of the line, for their misconduct upon this occasion.

The army now implicitly obeying his orders, no person was judged so competent to compose the troubles of Ireland, where three parties, the native Catholics, the Royalists, and the Parliamentarians, were in arms against each other. Accordingly, he was appointed Lord Governor of that island, in all affairs civil and military, for three years: and in August, 1649, he embarked to take possession of his new command. The Marquis of Ormond, at the head of the Royalists, had so strenuously supported the cause of the late King, that Londonderry and Dublin alone held out for the parliament, and these were in danger of being lost. Before the arrival of Cromwell, however, Colonel Jones had compelled Ormond to raise the siege of the latter place. In this city the new Governor was received with every demonstration of joy; and the republican forces thenceforward began to act upon the offensive. The fortified towns being chiefly in the hands of the enemy and well-garrisoned, Cromwell with his usual intrepidity resolved upon a military exploit, which by exciting a general dread of

his arms, might spare him much subsequent trouble in completing his conquests. He marched to Drogheda, a strong place defended by the flower of the royal army under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, an experienced officer; and upon his refusing to surrender hung out the red flag, announcing that ‘no quarter was to be expected.’ He then stormed the town, and put all who bore arms to the sword. For this inhumanity he was severely censured; but he alleged, in his vindication, that ‘they had taken an active part in the massacre of the Protestants in 1641, and that it was the only way to prevent in future sieges an unnecessary effusion of blood.’ He was obliged, however, to repeat the same tragedy at Wexford; after which all the towns and forts along the coast, as far as Dublin, quietly surrendered upon his approach. In about nine months, seconded by Ireton, he had compelled the whole kingdom to submit to the new government.

His return to England was hastened by the conduct of the Scots, who had despatched Commissioners to the Hague to treat with Charles II., and having at length prevailed upon him to comply with their demands, had signed a treaty acknowledging him for their Sovereign, in consequence of which he had been proclaimed in that kingdom. This being considered by the Commonwealth as a declaration of war, preparations for the commencement of hostilities were made with great vigour; but when it was proposed by the English Council to carry the war into Scotland, Fairfax, who was a strict Presbyterian and had taken the Covenant, conscientiously declined accepting the command of the expedition; upon which, Cromwell was ordered home. On his approach to

the capital, he was met by a prodigious concourse of people.*

His entry into London was triumphal. Attended by Lord Fairfax, and the principal citizens and members of parliament, and escorted by a troop of horse and a regiment of foot, at Hyde Park he was saluted with cannon, and had lodgings assigned in the palace at Whitehall. The day after his arrival was a day of public rejoicings; and, on his resuming his seat in parliament, the Speaker returned him the thanks of the House, for his great and faithful services in Ireland.

On the sixteenth of June, 1650, Charles II. arrived in Scotland, and Fairfax persisting in his declaration, that 'his conscience was not satisfied as to the justice of the intended war,' was allowed to lay down his commission; † after which Cromwell was

* At Tyburn in particular, where a great crowd had assembled, one of his flatterers pointing to the multitude exclaimed, "Good God, Sir! what a number of people are come hither to welcome you home!" to which he replied with a smile, "But how many more do you think would flock to the same place to see me hanged?"

† Henceford Lord Fairfax appeared no more in his military capacity, but withdrew to his seat in Yorkshire, where in the leisure of retirement he discovered, too late, that he had been made the tool of Cromwell's ambition. In consequence of this, he took every opportunity to promote the Restoration, and joining General Monk at the head of a body of Yorkshire gentlemen, facilitated his march into England. In 1660, he was elected one of the representatives for the county of York, in what was called 'the Healing Parliament.' He was, also, appointed a member of the Committee delegated to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, and desire him to resume the regal authority. Upon the dissolution of that parliament, he returned again to his seat in the country, where he lived in the most private manner till his death in November 1671, in the sixtieth year of his age.

appointed Captain General in Chief of all the Forces raised, and to be raised, by authority of parliament within the Commonwealth of England.

The new Commander was as successful in Scotland, whither he immediately marched at the head of 20,000 chosen troops, as he had been in Ireland. It even seemed, as if his very name struck a panic wherever he appeared: the Scots fled at his approach, though he incurred some risk from the Fabian caution of General Leslie, and when at length the enemy's army was by stratagem drawn into an engagement on the third of September at Dunbar, they were totally defeated, though their number more than doubled that of the forces opposed to them. These signal successes determined Charles to march his army into England. Accordingly he entered by Carlisle, and encountering little opposition, except from Major General Lambert at Warrington Bridge, advanced to Worcester, where he resolved to wait the approach of the enemy. That enemy was not long behind him: on the third of September, 1651, Cromwell gained what he himself called (in his letter to the parliament) "his crowning victory" over the Royalists; and their illustrious leader was obliged to wander about in hazardous disguise, till he found an opportunity of escaping to France.

His Majesty's hopes of restoration being thus crushed for the present, and his friends throughout the three kingdoms completely disheartened, every circumstance concurred to favour the ambition of Cromwell, who having now convinced the army of their importance, and the indivisibility of their common interests, enjoyed a power and state nearly equal to that of royalty. Such, indeed, was his joy upon the winning of the last battle, that he was

with difficulty dissuaded from knighting two of his principal commanders upon the field: his despatches were expressed in loftier terms than usual, and his general behaviour (as Ludlow remarks) was from that day forward observably altered. On his return to London, he was met beyond Aylesbury by four Commissioners from the parliament, who were instructed to show him every possible mark of respect; and at a nearer distance by the Speaker, the President of the Council, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of London, and innumerable persons of distinction. A state-coach was, likewise, provided for his triumphal entry into London, where he was received with the loudest acclamations; and the parliament settled on him, and his heirs, estates of the yearly value of 4000*l*.

But the honours heaped upon him by this unstable government he knew to be precarious; and, therefore, he began to take measures for assuming a supreme authority over the very body, from which he had derived all his greatness. At a conference with several members of parliament and general officers on the state of the nation, he desired them to consider, ‘Whether a republic or a mixed monarchy would best settle the liberties of the people upon a firm basis; and, if they should determine in favour of monarchy, in whom that monarchy should be vested.’ The officers decided for the first: but the lawyers (among whom was the celebrated Bulstrode Whitlocke, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal) and the statesmen were, unanimously, for the latter; and a great majority determined that the Duke of Gloucester, one of the late King’s sons, was

the person to whom it's functions would most properly be assigned.

This, after the adulation lately paid to Cromwell, was so contrary to his expectations, that it required his utmost hypocrisy to conceal his resentment. With great dexterity, however, he changed the topic of conference: but, from this time, it appears as if he had resolved at all events to carry his point; for he continually opened his mind to such of the council of state as were his most intimate friends, and separately sounded their inclinations.* He sent, likewise, for some of the most eminent divines in the city, particularly Dr. Edmund Calamy, whose influence founded upon general esteem was in spiritual matters nearly paramount to all others. This honest minister boldly opposed his project, and offered to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell, in reply to the assertion of it's illegality, appealed to the safety of the nation; and then inquired, 'why it was impracticable?' "Because," said Calamy, "it is against the voice of the nation; there will be nine in ten against you." "Very well," answered Cromwell: "but what if I should disarm the nine, and put the sword into the tenth man's hand, would not that do the business?"

A war had, indeed, broken out with Holland in 1652; and some of the leading republicans, both in parliament and in the Council of State, had it in agitation to augment the navy and reduce the army. under the pretext that 'a Dutch war would be most

* His arguments with Whitlocke, upon the subject of ascending the throne, may be found at large in the second edition of that writer's 'Memorials of the English Affairs.'

successfully waged by sea, and that the nation was unable to bear the double expense of a large naval and military force.' Cromwell penetrated this scheme of lessening his influence, and repairing to the army, excited the principal officers to draw up a petition* to the parliament demanding the payment of their arrears, and affirming that 'the public revenues, honestly and wisely managed, would suffice for the regular subsistence of the present land-army, notwithstanding any proposed augmentation of the navy.' For this petition the parliament voted that 'the officers should be reprimanded,' and they were forbidden to intermeddle in the administration of government. A remonstrance was now presented on the part of the army, complaining that 'the parliament had not performed it's promise of dissolving itself, agreeably to a former petition presented by their body : ' they, therefore, desired that 'it immediately put an end to it's administration, that there might be a regular succession of parliaments; and that a Council of State might be appointed to take charge of the public affairs, till a new parliament should be assembled.' It was resolved, however, by a large majority (notwithstanding the strenuous op-

* This petition produced a warm debate, in the course of which Cromwell's friends, under pretence of lessening the national expenditure, moved that 'the Duke of Gloucester (who, since his father's execution, had been kept as a kind of state-prisoner at St. James') should be privately sent abroad with the promise of a pension, on condition of not attaching himself to the King or any of his relations.' Accordingly, he was conveyed to Dunkirk in a sloop of war, with only two servants to attend him: but, soon after his landing, he joined the Princess of Orange at Breda, and thence proceeded to his royal brother at Paris.

position of Cromwell's party) that 'it was not proper to dissolve the parliament, while the nation had a war and other important affairs in hand; but that the vacant seats should be filled up by new elections.' A Committee was, likewise, nominated to prepare a bill making it high-treason to present such petitions or remonstrances.

Cromwell finding the parliament in this disposition, and anticipating a motion for disbanding great part of the army, after a private consultation with his military and senatorial friends, resolved upon a most daring procedure. On the twentieth of April, 1653, while the House was actually debating upon a motion for continuing it's own duration a year and a half longer, he entered with a number of officers; having left in Westminster Hall, upon the stairs, and in the lobby, a chosen detachment of soldiers to the amount of about three hundred men. After attending quietly in his place for some time, he whispered to Harrison, who sat next him, that 'he now thought the parliament ripe for a dissolution;' but that General requested him to think seriously, before he undertook so dangerous a measure. "You say well," replied Cromwell, and sat still about a quarter of an hour; when the debates being ended, and the question about to be put, he hastily observed, "This is the time I must do it;" and suddenly rising up bade the Speaker 'leave the chair,' and told the House 'they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good.' After which, charging several individuals with their private vices, he observed in general, that 'they had not a heart to do any thing for the public service, but only an intention to perpetuate themselves in power.'

Upon this, some of them beginning to speak, he stepped forward, and said, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating." Then, walking up and down, he cried out, "You are no parliament, I say, you are no parliament;" and stamping with his feet, he bade them 'begone, and give place to honest men; for the Lord had done with them, and had made choice of other instruments.' This stamping being the signal appointed for the entering of the soldiers, he said to one of them, "Take away that fool's bauble, the mace;" and the Speaker still keeping the chair, Harrison rudely pulled him out by the arm. Cromwell then, telling the members, they had forced him to this (for 'he had sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay him, than put him upon the doing of this work') and seizing all the papers upon the table, ordered the soldiers to 'clear the house;' after which he locked the doors, put the key into his pocket, and returned to Whitehall.*

* The following piece, said to have been found lately among some papers, which formerly belonged to Oliver Cromwell, is supposed to be a copy of the very words addressed by him to the members of the Long Parliament, when he turned them out of the house. It was communicated to the Annual Register for 1767, by a person, who signed his name 'T. Ireton,' and said the paper was marked with the following words, 'Spoken by Oliver Cromwell, when he put an end to the Long Parliament:'

"It is high time for me to put an end to your sitting in this place; which ye have dishonoured by your contempt of all virtue, and defiled by your practice of every vice. Ye are a factious crew, and enemies to all good government. Ye are a pack of mercenary wretches, and would like Esau sell your country for a mess of pottage, and like Judas betray your God for a few pieces of money. Is there a single virtue now remaining among you? Is there one vice ye do not possess? Ye have no more religion than my horse. Gold is your God. Which of you have

The same part he acted by the Council of State in the afternoon. On entering the chamber at Whitehall, where they were assembled, he said: "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but, if as a Council of State, this is no place for you: and since you cannot but know what was done at the House in the morning, so take notice that the parliament, which appointed you, is dissolved." Bradshaw, the president, boldly answered, "Sir, we have heard what you did at the House in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear of it: but, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore, take you notice of that." The Council however, finding themselves under the same military constraint, quietly departed.

The government being now effectually dissolved, in the general consternation into which the whole nation was thrown, any constitution would have been

not bartered away your consciences for bribes? Is there a man among you, that hath the least care for the good of the Commonwealth? Ye sordid prostitutes! Have ye not defiled this sacred place, and turned the Lord's Temple *into a den of thieves*? By your immoral principles and wicked practices ye are grown intolerably odious to the whole nation. You, who are deputed here by the people to get their grievances redressed, are yourselves become their greatest grievance.

"Your country, therefore, calls upon me to cleanse this Augean stable, by putting a final period to your iniquitous proceedings in this house; and which, by God's help and the strength he hath given me, I am now come to do. I command you, therefore, upon the peril of your lives, to depart immediately out of this place. Go! Get ye out! Make haste! Ye venal slaves, begone!—So!—Take away that shining bauble there, and lock up the doors."

acceptable. The people seemed prepared for blind submission to the power of the sword. But though the plan of a Republic had been set on foot by several illustrious characters, and they had even consented (beyond their original intention) to the King's death, as the only expedient to establish it, no one ventured to demand of Cromwell the Instrument investing him with authority over their newly formed Commonwealth; nor was any effort made to raise the militia, or to summon the civil power to their aid, against the encroachments of the army.

Cromwell now again attempted to obtain from his friends an invitation to assume the reins of government; but most of them still opposing his favourite project, he was obliged to nominate a second Council of State, consisting chiefly of officers of the army. These prepared a form of summons to be issued in his name, as Captain General of the Forces, to one hundred and forty two persons selected by them to represent the whole kingdom in parliament,* and to

* A striking absurdity in summoning this mock parliament must not be passed over unnoticed; which is, that Cromwell continued the title conferred upon him by the very parliament which he had so shamefully dissolved, though by it's dissolution the Instrument of his appointment, of course, became null and void.

The following letter, addressed about this time to his son-in-law General Fleetwood, may give a farther idea of his stile of expression :

‘ DEAR CHARLES,

‘ Although I do not, so often as is desired (by me) acquaint you how it is with me, yet I doubt not of your prayers on my behalf, that in all things I may walk as becometh the Gospel. Truly I never more needed all helps from my Christian friends than now: fain would I have my service accepted of the saints

share with themselves in the administration of public affairs. Of these, several were taken from the lowest classes of the people; and a leatherseller in Fleet-street, named Praise-God Barebones, being a great

(if the Lord will) but it is not so; being of different judgements, and of each sort some seeking to propagate their own, that spirit of kindness that is to them all is hardly accepted of any. I hope I can say it, my life has been a willing sacrifice, and my hope is for them all; yet it much falls out, as when the two Hebrews were rebuked, you know upon whom they turned their displeasure. But the Lord is wise, and will, I trust, make manifest that I am no enemy.

‘O how easy is mercy to be abused! Persuade friends with you to be very sober: if the day of the Lord be so near (as some say) how should our moderation appear! If every one, instead of contending, would justify his form by love and meekness, *wisdom would be justified of her children*; but, alas! I am in my temptation ready to say, “*O would I had wings like a dove! then would I flee away, and be at rest!*” But this, I fear, is my haste.

‘I bless the Lord, I have somewhat keeps me alive, some sparks of the light of his countenance, and some sincerity above man’s judgement. Excuse me thus unbowelling myself to you, and pray for me, and desire my friends to do so also. My love to thy dear wife, whom indeed I sincerely love, both naturally and upon the best account; and my blessing, if it be worth any thing, upon thy little babe.

‘Sir George Ayscough, having occasions with you, desired my letters to you on his behalf; if he come or send, I pray you show him what favour you can. Indeed, his services have been considerable for the state, and I doubt he has not been answered with suitable respect: therefore again I desire you and the Commissioners to take him into a very peculiar care, and help him so far as justice and reason will any ways afford. Remember my hearty affections to all the officers: the Lord bless you all; so prayeth,

‘Your truly loving Father,

Aug. 22, 1653

‘OLIVER CROMWELL.’

speaker in the new assembly, it was called in derision 'Barebones' Parliament.' *

* While these important changes took place in England, the Irish government had devolved on General Ludlow by the demise of Ireton, who died of the plague at Limerick in November, 1651. Ludlow was a zealous republican, and an able and successful General, to whose military skill the Long Parliament, and even Cromwell himself, had been greatly indebted. But, though he had participated in the active measures against Charles I., had even sat upon his trial, and signed the warrant for his execution, he no sooner discovered the ambitious designs of that General, than he gave them all the resistance, publicly and privately, in his power. This occasioned his being sent to Ireland, to act under Ireton. As soon as Cromwell, however, had dissolved the Long Parliament, he despatched Fleetwood to supersede him in that island, that he might lessen the weight of his opposition. Upon Cromwell's being declared Protector, Ludlow vainly used his utmost endeavours to prevent his being proclaimed in Ireland; but, though he refused to act under his authority in any civil department, he would not surrender his commission. Soon after the appointment of Henry Cromwell to the Irish government, Ludlow returned to England, and was closely examined by Oliver and his Council; when he so freely declared his sentiments against the new constitution, that the Protector was upon the point of committing him, till Ludlow reminded him of an article in the celebrated Petition of Right, which procured his dismissal. After this, he retired into the country, and remained unmolested during the remainder of Cromwell's administration. A new parliament being called upon the Protector's death, he sat in it, and used all his endeavours to bring about the re-establishment of a Commonwealth; and, on Richard Cromwell's resignation, went over to Ireland Commander in Chief. But the Restoration taking place soon afterward, and the Judges of the late King being required by proclamation to surrender, he took up his residence successively at Geneva, Lausanne, and Vevay till the Revolution. On that great event he returned, to exert his old age in the glorious cause, expecting to be employed in Ireland against the Popish adherents of James II. Some time, however, after his public appearance in London, an address being presented by the House

This congress speedily came to a vote, that 'their sitting any longer would not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that it was fit they should resign their powers to the Lord General.' Their resignation was followed by that of the Council of Officers; after which, at a private meeting of the creatures of Cromwell, it was resolved that he should be invested with the supreme authority, under the title of 'Lord Protector of the Three Nations;' and an Instrument of creation was prepared accordingly. All things being ready for this fresh revolution, proper notice was given for the solemnity of his inauguration, which was performed with great ceremony, December 16, 1653.* Oliver, having subscribed and sworn to govern according to the aforesaid Instrument, consisting of forty two Articles, was seated covered in a chair of state, when the Commissioners delivered up the Great Seal, and the Lord Mayor of London his sword and the keys of the city, with the usual formalities observed to Kings: these he returned in the same manner; after which the court went in procession to Whitehall, the Lord Mayor bearing the sword of state before him.

of Commons to the new Sovereign for a proclamation to apprehend Colonel Ludlow attainted of the murder of Charles I., he was compelled to return to Vevay, where he died in 1693 in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

Whitlocke, another powerful obstacle in the way of Cromwell's advancement to the Protectorship, was craftily sent on an embassy to Christina, Queen of Sweden; an appointment accompanied with such marks of honour, that he could not decently refuse it.

* As a singular coincidence, it may be observed, that at the same age (fifty four) Julius Cæsar was created Perpetual Dictator.

The legislative power, according to the new constitution, was lodged in the Protector and the Parliament; the executive, in the Protector and his Council. All writs, patents, and commissions were to issue in the name of the Protector, and from him all honours and offices were to be derived. In a word, he was vested with the best prerogatives of a King of England: nor were the rights and privileges of the people forgotten. Triennial parliaments were established, and a more equal representation of the people was provided for, admitting the elections to be free: the number of members to be returned by each county, city, and borough being regulated in proportion to the sums paid by each toward the national expense, and many of the smaller boroughs (so justly regarded in our day as the rotten part of the constitution) being totally excluded. No laws were to be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, no new law made, no tax, charge, or imposition laid upon the people, but by common consent in parliament; and bills passed by the two Houses were declared to have the force of laws twenty days after they should have been offered to the Protector, though his assent should be refused. The Protectorship itself was to be elective.

The first great service performed by Cromwell was, the concluding of an honourable peace with the Dutch in 1654, by which he obtained the restitution of a settlement in the East Indies, taken from the English in the reign of James I., and 300,000*l.* as an indemnification for the injury sustained by the bloody massacre at Amboyna in the same reign. These two points had long been the subject of fruitless negotiation: but the spirit and firmness of the Protector,

and the dread of his fleets and armies, speedily brought them to a termination. In the next place, he entered into an advantageous alliance with France. At the same time, his friendship was courted by the Kings of Spain and Portugal, who appointed splendid embassies to congratulate him upon his accession.

While the most considerable Princes of Europe were thus paying their court to this fortunate usurper, an event occurred in London, the consequence of which filled Europe with astonishment, and rendered his name formidable in every part of the known world. Don Pantaleon de Sa,* brother to the Portuguese Ambassador, conceiving himself to have been affronted by some English gentlemen at the New Exchange, repaired thither on the following day (November 22, 1653) accompanied by his domestics and about fifty Portuguese armed with swords and pistols, and mistaking Colonel Mayo† for Mr. Anthuser, the person of whom they were in search, gave him seven dangerous wounds, after which they wantonly shot another gentleman through the head.

They had, likewise, brought several jars of gun-

* See 'Copy of a Letter from Cromwell to the Members of the Parliament assembled June 4, 1653,' pp. 9—12.

† This gentleman was walking upon the Exchange with two ladies, totally ignorant of the quarrel which had taken place the preceding day, and in which the Portuguese themselves had been the aggressors. One Colonel Gerrard, it appears, having overheard them discoursing on English affairs had politely informed them, that 'upon certain points they were misinformed;' on which one of Don Pantaleon's company gave him the lie, and three others instantly attacking him, he was stabbed in the shoulder with a dagger. In this extremity, Mr. Anthuser came to his assistance for which they vowed vengeance against him.

powder in their coaches, covered with wax and matches; intending, as it was supposed, to have done some mischief to the Exchange, if they had not been prevented. The parliamentary horse at the Mews were sent for to quell the riot, but the greatest part of the delinquents had fled for refuge to the Ambassador's house; upon which, Colonel Whalley invested it with a party of horse, and despatched a messenger to inform the Protector of his proceedings. The Ambassador, at first, ordered his domestics to 'stand to their arms;' but Whalley having received instructions to insist upon his delivering up his brother and the principal rioters to the peace-officers, he thought proper to comply, contenting himself with protesting to Cromwell against this violation of the law of nations. Cromwell magnanimously replied, that 'justice should be done, and that blood must be satisfied with blood.' All the foreign envoys resident in London warmly interested themselves in this unhappy affair; not conceiving it possible that a man of Don Pantaleon's high quality, a Knight of Malta, and the brother of an Ambassador, should be questioned for the murder of an obscure Englishman! But their united remonstrances were ineffectual: the fact was notorious; and Don Pantaleon, being convicted by a jury half English and half foreigners, was beheaded on Tower Hill, July 10, 1654.* So coolly, indeed, did the Protector proceed in this admirable example of justice, that he concluded a treaty

* It was "a very observable hand of Providence that the two persons, Mr. John Gerard (for a plot against the Protector) and the Don, who began that quarrel in the prosecution whereof the murder was committed at the New Exchange, should meet to die at the same time and place for different crimes!"

with Portugal, highly advantageous to his country, almost at the very hour that the Ambassador's brother was led to execution.

Being now at peace with the principal powers of Europe, he proceeded with great firmness in the administration of his domestic government. He filled the courts in Westminster Hall with able Judges, and directed the lawyers themselves to make such corrections in the practice of their profession, as might free them from public odium. The same moderation he practised in church-matters; professing an unalterable resolution to maintain liberty of conscience. He gave the command of all the forces in Scotland to General Monk, and sent his son Henry to govern Ireland. By an Ordinance dated April 12, 1654, he united England and Scotland, fixing the number of representatives for the latter at thirty; and, soon afterward, he did the same for Ireland. There was still, however, a strong party against him; and on opening the session of the new parliament on his favourite third of September, notwithstanding his specious harangue, in which he stiled himself 'not their master but their fellow-labourer,' the first deliberations of the members were employed in examining and questioning the authority, by which they were convened. Astonished at this unexpected procedure, Cromwell summoned them to the Painted Chamber, where he sharply reprimanded them for 'having presumed to doubt an authority, from which their own was derived;' and upon their return, they found a guard at the door, requiring them before they re-entered the House, to sign a recognition 'that they would be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and that

they would not propose or give consent to alter the government, as it was settled in one single person and a parliament.' This recognition was subscribed on the first day by one hundred and thirty members, and afterward by others to the amount of three hundred. Major Harrison for his refusal was secured by a party of horse, and deprived of his commission, with Overton, Rich, and Okey, who had great influence in the army, and had strenuously opposed Cromwell from the time of his assuming the Protectorship. Many likewise, who had thus compulsorily signed the recognition, confederated secretly in a conspiracy with the cavaliers against his person and government, engaging to rise in arms in different parts of the kingdom. The Protector in consequence, who had accurate intelligence from his spies of all their proceedings, dissolved them abruptly,* eleven days before the expiration of the

* This packed House of Commons, however, voted him the Protectorship for life, and assigned him all the royal palaces for his use: and he now never appeared in public, but with a splendor and retinue which exceeded the pomp of royalty. While this parliament was sitting, an odd accident happened to the Protector. He had received a set of Friesland horses from the Duke of Holstein as a present: and would needs drive his Secretary Thurloe round Hyde Park with his new equipage. The horses however, partaking of the spirit of his parliament, proved somewhat ungovernable, and his Highness was thrown from the box: but neither from his fall, nor from the discharge of one of his pocket-pistols, by which it was accidentally accompanied, did he receive any injury whatever. He was not, it appears, without some fears of assassination: and his mother who lived with him at Whitehall (without, however, enjoying the magnificence by which she was surrounded) was so apprehensive of it, that she anxiously insisted upon seeing him twice a-day; and, whenever she heard a shot accidentally fired, exclaimed "My Son is

time limited by the Instrument of Government; taking care at the same time to inform them, that he was apprised of their designs.

A fruitless insurrection in the West, under the conduct of Sir John Wagstaff, and Colonels Penruddock, Groves, and Jones, opened the domestic transactions of the year 1655. They entered Salisbury, seized on the Judges and Sheriffs at the time of the Lent Assizes, and obliged them to proclaim the King: but their small force, amounting to only two hundred horse, was soon afterward defeated by Colonel Butler; and Penruddock and Groves, being taken prisoners, were executed at Exeter. This attempt of the Cavaliers exasperated Cromwell. He tyrannically issued an edict to seize the tenth of the estates of all, who professed themselves or were suspected to be of that description; and ordered the most obnoxious of them to be transported to America. To levy this oppressive impost, he divided the whole kingdom into twelve districts, appointing a Major General over each, who with the assistance of Commissioners were authorised to decimate whomsoever they pleased, and to imprison suspected persons. Vested with these illegal powers however, they so harassed the people, that Cromwell for his own safety was obliged to abolish their office.

Such a general disaffection now prevailed, that seditious publications appeared every day, stigmatising the Protector as ‘a tyrant,’ and openly menacing him with deposition and condign punishment; upon which an Order of Council was issued against

shot!” She died in 1654; and contrary to her desire was consigned, with the honours of a royal sepulture, for a temporary rest, to the vaults of Henry VII.’s Chapel.

publishing newspapers without leave of the Secretary of State, and books or pamphlets without a licence.

That he did not however neglect the claims even of humble individuals, at this period, the following document affords sufficient evidence :

‘ To his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland ;
The humble Petition of Marjery, the wife of William Beacham, mariner,

‘ Showeth,

‘ That your Petitioner’s husband hath been active and faithful in the wars of this Commonwealth both by sea and land, and hath undergone many hazards by imprisonment and fights, to the endangering of his life, and at last lost the use of his right arm, and is utterly disabled from future service, as doth appear by the certificate annexed, and yet he hath no more than forty shillings pension from Chatham by the year :

‘ That your Petitioner having one only son, who is tractable to learn, and not having wherewith to bring him up by reason of their present low estate, occasioned by the public service aforesaid :

‘ Humbly prayeth, That your Highness would vouchsafe to present her said son, Randolph Beacham, to be scholar in Sutton’s Hospital called the Charter House.’

‘ OLIVER, P.

‘ We refer this petition and certificate to the Commissioners of Sutton’s Hospital.

‘ *July 28, 1655.*’

The following letter was sent by Cromwell to his Secretary on the above petition.

‘ You receive from me, this 28th instant, a petition of Marjery Beacham, desiring the admission of her son into the Charter House. I know the man, who was employed one day in a very important secret service, which he did effectually to our great benefit, and the Commonwealth’s. The petition is a brief relation of a fact, without any flattery. I have written under it a common reference to the Commissioners; but I mean a great deal more, that it shall be done, without their debate or consideration of the matter, and so do you privately hint to ****.

‘ I have not the particular shining bauble or feather in my cap, for crowds to gaze at, or kneel to; but I have power and resolution for foes to tremble at. To be short, I know how to deny petitions: and whatever I think proper, for outward form, to refer to any officer or office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be also looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing done. See, therefore, that the boy is admitted.

‘ Thy true friend,

‘ *July 28, 1655.*

‘ OLIVER, P.’

In September 1656, his third assembly, under the denomination of a parliament, met at Westminster, consisting chiefly of his creatures and dependents. Their first act ‘renounced and disannulled the title of Charles Stuart unto the sovereign dominions of the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland;’ and their second ‘made it high-treason to conspire the death of the Protector.’ In short, they proceeded in every thing agreeably to their master’s wishes: they ap-

proved of the alliance which he had contracted with France * in the course of the preceding year, and of the war against Spain (which was the consequence of it), and granted large supplies to carry it on with vigour. At length the time limited for their session approaching, Pack, an Alderman of London and one of it's members, moved that 'Cromwell should be elected King,' which threw the whole house into confusion.† The opposition to it proceeded chiefly from the officers of the army, who openly declared, that 'in the event of his accepting the crown they would resign their commissions.' The motion, however, was approved by a great majority; and a bill was, accordingly, presented to the Protector on the fourth of April, 1657. Cromwell now, for the first time, betrayed his conviction that all his power was derived from the army: for finding even Fleetwood (who had married his daughter, Ireton's widow) and Desborough his brother-in-law utterly averse from it,

* By a Secret Article it was stipulated, that the three Princes, Charles, James, and Henry Duke of Gloucester, the Lord of Ormnd, Sir Edward Hyde, Sir John Culpepper, Lord Gerrard, Daniel O'Neale, Lord Wilmot, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Edward Nicholas, Lord Wentworth (eldest son of the Earl of Cleveland) Sir Richard Greenville, Sir Francis Dodington, Sir John Barkley, the Lord Belcaras, O'Sullivan Beare, Lieutenant General Middleton, Lord Muskerry the Father, and Major General Edward Massey were to be excluded from residing in France. Eleven Frenchmen were, in return, to be denied the protection of the Republic.

† Of the 'Humble Petition and Advice' drawn up on this occasion, in which there was a blank left for the title of the Supreme Governor, and a clause inserted for the establishment of 'another House,' the principal arguments are compressed by Dr. Johnson with his accustomed ability in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1741, p. 93.

in order to gain time, and with the expectation of influencing his military opponents, he desired that 'a Committee of the House might be appointed to confer with him on this important affair.' In the mean time, Desborough imparted the Protector's project to Colonel Pride, who immediately procured a petition to be presented by his brother-officers purporting 'that they had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and were still ready so to do; and that finding an attempt was making to press their General to take upon him the title and government of a King, in order to destroy him, they humbly desired that the House would discountenance all such endeavours.' The Protector, finding himself thus circumvented, sent for the Commons to the Painted Chamber. May 8, 1657, where with specious appearances of piety and humility he declined the royal title, though it was evident that he by no means intended to renounce the supreme authority. Upon this, the House drew up a new Instrument of Government, by which his title of 'Protector' was confirmed for his life, with an annual revenue, and the privilege of nominating his successor. He was, likewise, empowered to form another House of Parliament, the members of which should enjoy their seats for life, and exercise some functions of the former House of Peers. His object in this was, by converting these seats into so many rewards or bribes, to secure to himself a set of favourites devoted to his service. But he was miserably disappointed: for, by the promotion of some of his most zealous friends, room was made in the Lower House for several republican members formerly excluded, and a majority was thus formed against the administration of government by

a single person, whether as King, Protector, or Captain General. The legality of 'The Humble Petition and Advice' they disputed with great reason, as enacted by a parliament, of which many members had been excluded by military force for refusing to subscribe the recognition. Upon this, Cromwell proceeded to menaces; but the Commons paid little regard either to his threats, or to his authority. He was, therefore, obliged to have recourse to the old expedient of dissolving the House; and from this time, in imitation of his royal predecessor, he governed without a parliament.

While his power was thus declining at home, the foreign concerns of the nation were conducted with such spirit, policy, and success, that its political interests had never flourished more extensively.

Spain having declared war against England in 1655, in consequence of Cromwell's treaty with France, Admiral Penn and General Venables* took Jamaica, a valuable island in the West Indies, which from that time has remained part of the British empire. Had there not been indeed much misunderstanding and mismanagement, much more would have been achieved by this formidable expedition. An English army likewise, sent to the assistance of the French in Flanders, had the principal share in taking Mardyke and Dunkirk,† which were put into the hands of the English.

* Of the naval expeditions under the conduct of Admiral Blake, which threw additional splendor round his energetic employer, and had the effect of chasing the exiled Stuarts from their asylum in the French territories, the reader will find an account in the Life of that Commander.

† The latter was sold by Charles II. in 1662, for 500,000*l*.! A

Allied however as he was with France, Cromwell would not submit to the encroaching spirit of the people, who from the rivalry of commerce are perpetually endeavouring, even in times of peace and amity, to take undue advantages. His magnanimity upon the following occasion, does honour to his memory: An English merchant ship had been taken by a French man of war in the Channel and condemned, on the pretext that she was carrying on a contraband trade. The master of the ship, a Quaker, upon his return home, presented a petition to the Protector in Council, praying redress. Cromwell summoned the petitioner to attend him the next morning; and, after convincing himself of his innocence, asked him, 'if he could carry a letter to Paris?' On receiving an answer in the affirmative, he gave him a letter for Cardinal Mazarin, Prime Minister to Louis XIV. (then in his minority), and ordered him to wait only three days for an answer. "The answer I mean," said the Protector, "is the full value of your ship and cargo; and tell the Cardinal, if it is not paid you in that space of time, you have directions from me to return home." The man punctually executed his commission; and, not obtaining satisfaction, returned as he had been directed. Cromwell, instead of commencing a tedious negotiation, during the protraction of which the injured subject is frequently ruined, sent some men of war into the Channel to make reprisals, out of the produce of which he paid the Quaker the value of his ship and cargo. Then sending for the French resident, he

splendid embassy, likewise, from Sweden was received with great parade: but Cromwell wisely declined the honour of a proposed visit from Queen Christina.

produced the exact account of the sale, and ordered the balance to be consigned into his hands for the use of the owners of the captured vessels.*

The French ministry after this remarkable transaction dreaded giving him the least offence, and even submitted to his interference in their disputes with the Hugonots, whom he took under his protection. His zeal, indeed, for the Protestant interest in Europe was as conspicuous, as it was laudable: for the Duke of Savoy having bitterly persecuted the Vaudois, his Reformed subjects, he compelled Mazarin, by his influence with that Prince, to stop the persecution. He also wrote himself to the Duke upon the occasion, and would not be satisfied, till his victims were indemnified for their losses, and had received a renewal of their former privileges.

At home, he was less fortunate. In the course of the year 1657, numerous plots were formed against his person and government by the Republicans and the Cavaliers, which began seriously to affect his health. A pamphlet, likewise, was published by Colonel Silas Titus, under the assumed name of William Allen, entitled ‘Killing no Murder;’ which filled him with such apprehensions, that he wore a coat of mail under his clothes, carried loaded pistols in his pockets, and scarcely ever slept two nights successively in the same chamber. It has been asserted, indeed, that ‘he never smiled after-ward.’ Society terrified him, as there

* Several of Milton’s energetic and classical letters upon similar subjects occur in the ‘*Litteræ Pseudo-Senatus Anglicani*, &c. ;’ as do also the strenuous intercessions in favour of the Vaudois, mentioned below.

he might meet an enemy; and solitude terrified him no less, as there he was unguarded by every friend.

The ensuing year opened with a public avowal of his fears, by rigorous prosecutions of several persons of rank as conspirators, who for want of legal evidence against them were tried before newly created tribunals (called 'High Courts of Justice'), and condemned, without a jury, by judges their sworn enemies. Among these loyal traitors are found the names of Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewett an eminent divine of the Church of England,* Colonel Ashton, Mr. Stacy, and Mr. Bestley: the two first were beheaded; but the others were barbarously executed in the manner appointed in cases of high-treason, by Cromwell's express orders, as a terror to others. At length increasing vexation, and probably the weight and coldness of his armour, brought on a double tertian ague; the hot fits of which becoming extremely violent about the middle of August, he removed from Hampton Court to Whitehall, soon after which his

* For Dr. Hewett the intercession of Oliver's favourite daughter (Mrs. Claypole) was so strenuous, that her disappointment upon its failure is even said to have hastened the crisis of her death. And yet her remains, and those of her truly respectable grandmother (who had always expressed her dislike of the Protector's ambitious excesses) and the noble-minded Blake were, with those of the illustrious Usurper himself and the formidable Ireton, torn from their graves after the Restoration, and made the subject of cowardly and pitiful insult. May also, the translator and the continuator of Lucan, Pym, and others to the number of twenty and upward, were treated with similar indignity: and "this detestable violation of the grave was stopped only by the popular indignation which it justly excited, and which the prudence of the government judged it proper to respect." (Symmons' 'Life of Milton.')

physicians pronounced his case to be desperate.* Of his behaviour during his illness Ludlow, in his 'Memoirs,' gives the following account: "When the symptoms of death were apparent upon him, and many ministers and others assembled in a chamber at Whitehall praying for him, he manifested so little remorse of conscience for having betrayed the public cause by sacrificing it to the idol of his own ambition, that some of his last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner; recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great care of the people whom he had so manifestly despised. But he seemed, above all, concerned for the reproaches he said 'men would cast upon his name in trampling on his ashes when dead.' In this temper of mind, he departed this life."

* Cromwell himself appears to have had great hopes of his recovery, by his deferring to name his successor till the very night before his death, which happened September 3, a date upon two occasions (the battles of Dunbar and Worcester) remarkably fortunate to him. From this circumstance the enthusiasts around him drew the happiest presages of his future state. When his chaplain Goodwin told him that 'the elect would never be damned,' then "I am sure," said he, "that I am safe: for I was once in a state of grace." His physicians were sensible of his dangerous case; but he was so much encouraged by the revelations of his preachers, that he considered his recovery as no way doubtful. "I tell you," cried he to these medical croakers, "that I shall not die of this distemper; I am well assured of my recovery. Favourable answers have been returned from Heaven, not only to my own supplications, but likewise to those of the godly, who have a closer correspondence with God than I. Ye may have skill in your profession: but nature can do more than all the physicians in the world; and God is far above nature." Upon a fast-day appointed on account of his sickness, his ministers thanked God for 'the undoubted pledges they had received of his recovery!'

Bossuet, in his ‘Funeral Oration on Henrietta, Queen of Charles I.’ pronounces him, ‘A man with a profundity of mind surpassing belief; as finished a hypocrite as he was a skilful politician; capable of undertaking any thing, and of disguising whatever he undertook; indefatigably active in peace as well as in war; leaving nothing to fortune which he could seize from her by foresight, but always by his vigilance improving the occasions she offered; in a word, one of those adventurous spirits, which seem created to convulse the world.’ ‘Nothing (adds the French Ambassador of that day) was wanting to his felicity, but to have acquired his power by more innocent means, to have enjoyed it for a longer period, and to have transmitted it to a race more worthy of their progenitor.’

He died upward of 5,000,000*l.* in debt; though the parliament had left him in the treasury above 500,000*l.* and in store, to the value of 700,000*l.* He was buried with greater pomp than many English Kings, in Westminster Abbey,* after having lain

* With respect to the final disposal of his body, various stories have been circulated. By some it was said to have been sunk in the Thames; while others affirm that ‘it was privately buried nine feet deep in Naseby-field, where the heat of the action was, and that the ground was entirely ploughed up and sown three or four years successively with wheat, the corpse of Charles I. being substituted in his state-coffin, as he anticipated the restoration and subsequent vindictiveness of the exiled family; and that accordingly, when the corpse of the Protector (as it was conceived) was hung publicly on the gallows at Tyburn, there was discerned round the neck a strong seam, by which the head after the decollation had been immediately fastened to the body!’ This statement, which is preserved in the ‘Hartian Miscellany,’ has been reprinted in Dr. Symonds’ ‘Milton;’ but it could not escape that acute biographer, that eleven years (unless their operation had, indeed, been suspended

in state at Somerset House, at an expense of 60,000*l*.

His surviving issue were two sons, Richard, his successor, born October 4, 1626,* and Henry, † Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, born January 20, 1628, and four daughters, all distinguished by their natural and acquired accomplishments; and all well matched to husbands, to whom he was very kind, though he gave them no fortunes: Bridget, married first to

by embalming) would have completely destroyed all distinction of countenance, much more every appearance of a ‘seam about the neck;’ nor would the body have failed to be recollected, if any distinction of countenance had remained, from the very difference of their beards, Charles having had one of a considerable length, and Cromwell only a small lock of hair under the lower lip. The late discovery of the bodies of Henry VIII. and Charles I. at Windsor, it need scarcely be observed, completely falsifies the account. On the re-conignment of his remains to the grave, it is said that they were deposited in a meadow to the north of Holborn; and that upon the building of Red Lion Square an apothecary, firmly attached to his principles, had so much influence as to make the precise spot the centre of the quadrangle, so that the obelisk might be regarded as a monument to his memory.

* This son Cromwell united to a daughter and coheirress of a Hampshire gentleman (Mr. Major), and permitted to live for some time as a plain country-gentleman: a project, not only corresponding with the terms of the Instrument of Government, but also appearing to attest the dislike, which in his outset as Protector he had expressed for hereditary right. After a certain period however, when his ascendancy over public opinion was more firmly established, he altered his conduct toward his heir, named him the first Lord in his ‘other House,’ resigned to him the chancellorship of Oxford, and conferred upon him many other honours.

† This son, who lived at Spinney Abbey in Cambridgeshire, and married a daughter of Sir Francis Russel, died in 1674, and was buried in the church of Wicken in the same county.

Ireton,* and after his death to Fleetwood; † Mary, born in 1636, married to Lord Falconberg in 1657 with great solemnity; and again the same day more privately, by Dr. Hewett, according to the office in the Common Prayer Book; and Frances, married successively to Mr. Rich, grandson to the Earl of Warwick, and to Sir John Russel of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire. But his favourite daughter was his second, Elizabeth, born in 1630, wife of John Claypole, Esq. his Master of the Horse: and her death, which preceded his own but a short time, and prior to which she upbraided him with all his political crimes, is supposed rapidly to have accelerated his dissolution.

Thus finished this illustrious man his splendid but criminal career; supplying, as Dr. Symmons observes, one awful and monitory example more, to the many which had already been exhibited to the world (if human passion could be brought to attend to the lesson of example) of the impotence of ambition, with her richest rewards, to compensate the forfeiture of integrity. The confusions, which ensued upon his

* Said to have been his only confidant. He placed him at the head of affairs in Ireland, where he died of the plague in 1651.

† She was so sternly republican, as well as both her husbands, that she could not bear to behold even her own father entrusted with uncontrollable power. All the other daughters of Cromwell, it is said, had a secret kindness (of which their father was not ignorant) for the Stuart family; and Lady Falconberg, a lady of great wit, beauty, and spirit, is even reported to have promoted very successfully the Restoration. Lord Falconberg was sent to the Tower by the Committee of Safety, and was in very high favour with Charles II. He was raised to an earldom by William III., and died in 1700. His widow survived him twelve years.

death, induced the people to regret the loss even of an usurper, whose vigorous authority had suspended those dissensions of which they were now the prey, and had controlled the licentiousness of the army by whose caprices they were now insulted and oppressed. After a reign of less than nine months Richard Cromwell descended, in the conscious security of innocence,* and with a magnanimity which could disdain greatness when associated with guilt, from his high and giddy eminence to the safe level of a private station: and the Council of Officers, headed by Desborough and Fleetwood, who had immediately contributed to Richard's abdication, summoned the relics of the Long Parliament to re-assume the guidance of the Commonwealth. A part of this renowned assembly, which still legally existed, convened on the invitation; and, soon displaying its accustomed energy and talent, became in a short time the object of just alarm to its military tyrants, and again suffered a forcible interruption of its sittings. Of this last excess of the army, under the influence of men destitute alike of ability and public feeling, and equally incapable of providing for their own interests and for those of the community, the nation experienced a species of anarchy, and fell into the extreme of degradation under a military despotism. The Presbyterians, discontented since the triumph of the

* Richard Cromwell might have supported himself on his Protectoral throne, if he would have consented to the assassination of Desborough and Fleetwood, or would have accepted in time the military assistance offered to him by his brother Henry, the amiable and popular Governor of Ireland. The letters of Henry Cromwell, upon this occasion, discover a clear head and an excellent heart.

Independents, but crushed beneath the weighty sceptre of Oliver, and acquiescing in the succession of his son, now openly avowed their disaffection to the ruling powers, and united themselves heartily with the Royalists. This extraordinary confusion and conflict of parties opened a field to Monk (who had been placed by Cromwell at the head of the forces in Scotland, and was now the governor of that kingdom) for the display of his inconstancy, his cunning, and his perfidy. Peculiarly favoured by his situation, and solicited by the Presbyterians, the people, and the parliament, for aid against an insolent soldiery, who like the blind giant of classical fable possessed brutal power without the vision requisite to divert it from self-destroying exertion, this wavering and narrow-minded man, with mean talents but with deep dissimulation, was enabled to betray all who confided in him, to abandon his old associates to the butchery of legal vengeance, and with a fearful accumulation of perjury on his head to surrender the nation (without a single stipulation in it's favour) to the dominion of a master, in whom voluptuousness and cruelty were confounded in a disgusting embrace. By every intelligent and reflecting man the restoration of the monarchy of England must be hailed as a most auspicious event. But it may be questioned, whether the unconditional restoration of it (and this alone was, properly, the act of Monk) can be regarded as a benefit either to the prince or to the people: to the former, whom it allured to those excesses, which induced the final expulsion of his family from the throne; or to the latter, whom it immediately exposed to the evils of an injurious reign, and eventually subjected to the necessity of asserting with the blood

of two domestic wars their right to civil and religious liberty.

With respect to the character of Oliver Cromwell, this great man (says Granger) whose genius was awakened by the distractions of his country, was looked upon as one of the people, till he was upward of forty years of age. He is an amazing instance of what ambition, heated by enthusiasm, restrained by judgement, disguised by hypocrisy, and aided by natural vigour of mind can do. He was never oppressed with the weight, or perplexed with the intricacy, of affairs; but his deep penetration, indefatigable activity, and invincible resolution, seemed to render him a master of all events. He persuaded without eloquence; and exacted obedience, more from the terror of his name, than the rigour of his administration. He appeared as a powerful instrument in the hand of Providence, and dared to appeal to the decisions of Heaven for the justice of his cause. He knew every man of abilities in the three kingdoms, and endeavoured to avail himself of their respective talents. He has always been regarded by foreigners, and of late years by the generality of his countrymen, as the greatest man this nation ever produced. It has been disputed which he deserved most, 'a halter or a crown;' and there is no less disparity betwixt the characters drawn of him, and the reports propagated, by his enemies and his friends. Colonel Lindsey affirmed, that 'he saw him enter into a formal contract with the devil;' and Dawbeny has drawn a parallel betwixt Moses the Man of God, and Oliver the Protector! The French court went into mourning for him; but the famous Mademoiselle de Montpensier

disdained to pay that respect to the memory of an usurper.*

Cromwell exercised what he called 'the sword of the spirit,' upon every occasion, where he thought the military sword would be ineffectual. He well knew that the people were ever more disposed to be led by preachers than captains, and to extend his influence over them, he united both characters. There is a Sermon, said to have been preached by him on Rom. xiii. 1. 'the last Lord's Day in April, 1649, at Sir P. T.'s house in Lincoln's Inn Fields.' It was published in 1680. As it abounds with low ribaldry and egregious nonsense, it carries with it no

* Cromwell's nose, which was remarkably red and shining, was the subject of much ridicule. Cleaveland, in his character of a London Diurnal, says, "This Cromwell should be a bird of prey, by his bloody beak; his nose is able to try a young eagle, whether she be lawfully begotten: but all is not gold that glitters." Again: "Cromwell's nose wears the dominical letter." Another writer calls it, "A comet in grain." This nose Noble ascribes to 'the liquor, which he had drank to great excess when young, and with great freedom afterward.'

A witty portrait of him, though strongly overcharged, as being ascribed to Butler and printed in his 'Posthumous Works,' is here subjoined: "But Cromwell wants neither wardrobe nor armour; his face was naturally buff, and his skin may furnish him with a rusty coat of mail; you would think he had been christened in a lime-pit, tanned alive, and his countenance still continues mangy. We cry out against superstition, and yet worship a piece of wainscot, and idolise an unbleached almond: certainly it is no human visage, but the emblem of a mandrake; one scarce handsome enough to have been the progeny of Hecuba, had she whelped him when she was a bitch. His soul, too, is as ugly as his body, for who can expect a jewel in the head of a toad? Yet this basilisk would king it, and a brewer's horse must needs be a lion."

internal evidence of it's being genuine. Harrison, Vane, and Peter Pett were also lay preachers in the time of the inter-regnum: the first of these persons was head of a rebaptised congregation in London.

Cromwell was not one of those men, the Abbé Raynal observes, who have appeared unworthy of empire, as soon as it was attained. He had a genius adapted to all places, all seasons, all business, all parties, all governments. He was always what he ought to be: at the head of the army, the bravest; in council the wisest; in business, the most diligent; in debates, the most eloquent; in enterprises, the most active; in devotion, the most fanatic; in misfortune, the most firm; in an assembly of divines, the most learned; in a conspiracy, the most factious. He never made any mistake, never let slip an opportunity, never left an advantage incomplete, never contented himself with being great when he had it in his power to be very great. Chance and natural temper, which determine the conduct of other men, did not influence the most inconsiderable of his actions.

Born with an absolute indifference to all that is praiseworthy or blameable, honest or dishonest, he never considered virtue as virtue, crimes as crimes; he regarded only the relation, which the one or the other might have to his elevation. This was his idol: he sacrificed to it his king, his country, his religion; which he would have defended with the same zeal, had he had the same interest in protecting as in destroying them. The system of his ambition was conducted with an art, an order, a boldness, a subtilty, and a firmness, of which I believe history can show no example.

All sects, all ranks, all nations ; peace, war, negotiations, revolutions, miracles, prophecies ; all advanced the fortune of this hypocritical usurper. He was a man born to decide the fate of nations, empires, and ages. The splendor of his talents hath almost made the horror of his outrages to be forgotten ; posterity at least will question, whether Oliver Cromwell deserved execration or admiration.

These celebrated men (Montrose and Cromwell) he adds, turned upon themselves the eyes of all Europe ; Montrose had an integrity of heart, which fixed him in the interest of his King and country ; Cromwell a superiority of genius, which gave an air of equity to the most criminal actions. Vanity, properly, made the character of the first ; ambition was the ruling passion of the second.

With the first, one had great hopes of conquering ; with the second, one was sure not to be beaten : if the crown could have been kept on Charles' head, it was by Montrose ; if it was ordained to be torn from it, it must be by Cromwell. The republican was as much superior to the royalist in depth of judgement, as he was inferior to him in goodness of heart. In a word, Cromwell was an illustrious villain, who can neither be praised without horror, nor despised without injustice ; whom we are at once forced to admire, and to detest.

With the life of the Protector, observes Mr. Fox in his ' History of James II.,' almost immediately ended the government which he had established. The great talents of this extraordinary person had supported, during his life, a system condemned equally by reason and by prejudice—by reason, as wanting freedom ; by prejudice, as an usurpation : and it must

he confessed to be no mean testimony to his genius, that notwithstanding the radical defects of such a system, the splendor of his character and exploits render the æra of the Protectorship one of the most brilliant in English history. It is true, his conduct in foreign concerns is set off to advantage by a comparison of it with that of those who preceded, and who followed him. If he made a mistake in espousing the French interest instead of the Spanish, we should recollect that in examining this question we must divest our minds entirely of all the considerations, which the subsequent relative state of those two empires suggest to us, before we can become impartial judges in it: and, at any rate, we must allow his reign, in regard to European concerns, to have been most glorious, when contrasted with the pusillanimity of James I., with the levity of Charles I., and the mercenary meanness of the two last Princes of the House of Stuart. Upon the whole, the character of Cromwell must ever stand high in the list of those, who raised themselves to supreme power by the force of their genius; and among such, even in respect of moral virtue, it would be found to be one of the least exceptionable, if it had not been tainted with that most odious and degrading of all human vices, hypocrisy.

Odious as his sway had been, many marks of public approbation were bestowed upon his memory. The Poems of Waller, Sprat, and Dryden, though the authors lived to change their sentiments, give a very high idea of him; but allowance must be made for poetical evidence. In his life-time his actions had been celebrated by the learned abroad, as

well as by his own secretary, Milton, at home; and with these panegyrics he seems not to have been displeased. We have, indeed, various characters of him, as Granger has above observed, from persons of various sentiments. Lord Hollis, in his ‘Memoirs,’ will hardly allow him any great or good qualities; and one principal design of Ludlow’s ‘Memoirs’ is, to represent him as the vilest of men. Cowley seems to have excelled all others, as well in respect to the matter as the manner of representing him in the different lights of praise and censure; so that his performance may justly be esteemed the most perfect of any, as it is beyond comparison the most beautiful. It is said, that Cardinal Mazarin stiled him ‘a fortunate madman:’ but Father Orleans, who gives us the information, dislikes that character, and would substitute in its place that of ‘a judicious villain.’ Clarendon calls him ‘a brave, wicked man:’ and Burnet is of opinion, that ‘his life and his arts were exhausted together; and that, if he had lived longer, he would scarcely have been able to preserve his power.’ But this only proves, that the Bishop did not discern what resources he had. How blameworthy soever the Protector might have been in the acquisition of his high office, or how wickedly soever he acquired it, certain it is, he rivalled the greatest of the English Monarchs in glory, and made himself courted and dreaded by the nations around him. The peace he gave the Dutch was honourable to himself, and to the nation: and whether he acted prudently or not in breaking with Spain, and allying himself with France, the inequality between the two crowns was far from being visible then, as it has

since appeared, and Cromwell always had it in his power to throw himself into the opposite scale if necessary; and he distinguished himself by his interposition in behalf of the persecuted subjects of the French crown. His own government was, however, far from being free from blame. His edict against the episcopal clergy was cruel, as it deprived them in a good measure of their maintenance, and liberty of worshipping God in a way that appeared best to their own understandings. The Cavaliers had hard measure from him, as they were almost without exception subjected to heavy taxes and other inconveniences, on account of the rashness and imprudence of some of their party. Nor must we forget his institution of Major Generals, who in a variety of instances lorded over an oppressed country; or his sometimes making use of packed Juries, and displacing Judges for refusing to follow his directions, establishing High-Commission courts, and frequently violating the privileges of parliament.

In his public way of living, adds Chalmers, there was a strange kind of splendor at Whitehall: for sometimes his court wore an air of stately severity, at other times he would unbend himself, and drink freely; never indeed to excess, but only so far as to have an opportunity of sounding men's thoughts in their unguarded moments. Sometimes in the midst of serious consultations, he started into buffoonery: sometimes feasts, prepared for persons of the first distinction, were by a signal of drums and trumpets made the prey of his guards. There was a kind of madness in his mirth, as well as of humour in his gravity, and much of design in all. Some have commended him for keeping

up a great face of religion in his court, and through the nation : but it is not so easy to know what they mean. Certain it is, that religion never wore so many faces as in his time ; nor was he pleased to discover, which face he liked best. The Presbyterians he hated ; the Church of England he persecuted ; against the Papists made laws : but the Sectaries he indulged. Yet some of the Presbyterian divines he courted, affected kindness to a few of the ministers of the Church of England, and entered into occasional intrigues with the Papists. This made Sir Kenelm Digby's favourite, Father White, write in his defence ; and the popish Primate of Ireland sent precepts through all his province under his seal, to pray for the health, establishment, and prosperity of his person and government. With regard to his religion, it would be difficult to find, or even to conceive, whatever might have been his youthful or constitutional susceptibility of religious impressions, an instance of more consummate hypocrisy, or a more unfeeling contempt for every thing that deserves the name of religion, when it interfered with the purposes of his ambition. As for the Judges in Westminster Hall, he differed with St. John, and was sometimes out of humour with Hale. He set up high courts of justice unknown to the law, and put Dr. Hewett to death for not pleading before one of them ; though he offered to plead, if any one that sat there, and was a lawyer, would give it under his hand, that ' it was a legal jurisdiction ; ' and Whitlocke himself owns that, though he was named in the commission, ' he would never take his seat, because he knew it was not lawful.' His Majors General, while they acted, superseded all law ; and the Protector himself derided

Magna Charta, so much respected by our Kings. He was, indeed, kind to some learned men. Milton and Marvel were his secretaries. He would have hired Meric Casaubon to have written his History, and have taken the famous Hobbes into his service for writing the 'Leviathan:' probably because, in that celebrated work, power is made the source of right and the basis of religion; the foundation on which Cromwell's system, as well as that of Hobbes, was entirely built. He gave Archbishop Usher a public funeral in Westminster Abbey; yet he paid but half the expense, and the other half proved a heavy burthen upon that Prelate's poor family. And when all this is allowed to so inflexible a tyrant, how much is deducted from the infamy that attaches to his character? The most execrable of mankind are never uniform in villainy.

Very little of Cromwell's private life is known; he being near forty years of age, when he first distinguished himself in opposing the project for draining the Fens. Yet there were some who knew and understood him thoroughly, before his extraordinary talents were disclosed to the world; and in particular his cousin Hampden, of which the following was a remarkable instance: When the debates ran high in the House of Commons, and Hampden and Lord Digby were going down the parliament-stairs, with Cromwell just before them, who was known to the latter only by sight: "Pray," said his Lordship to Hampden, "who is that man, for I see that he is on our side, by his speaking so warmly to day?" "That sloven," replied Hampden, "whom you see before us, who has no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with

the King, which God forbid ! in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England." This prophecy, which was so fully accomplished, rose chiefly from the sense Hampden had of Cromwell's indefatigable diligence in pursuing whatever he undertook. He had another quality, which was equally useful to him ; that of discerning the temper of those with whom he had to deal, and dealing with them accordingly.

Before he became Commander in Chief, he kept up a very high intimacy with the private men : taking great pains to learn their names, by which he was sure to call them ; shaking them by the hand, clapping them on the shoulder, or which was peculiar to him, giving them a slight box on the ear ; which condescending familiarities, with the warm concern he expressed for their interests, gave him a power easier conceived than described. He tried to inveigle the Earl of Manchester ; but finding that impracticable, he fell upon him in the House of Commons, and procured his removal. He carried himself with so much respect to Fairfax, that the latter knew not how to break with him, though he felt that he had betrayed him. He not only deceived Harrison, Bradshaw, and Ludlow, but outwitted also St. John, who had more parts than them all ; and he foiled Sir Henry Vane with his own weapons. In short, he knew men perfectly, worked them to his purposes as if they had been cattle, and, what is still more wonderful, frequently did so, even when they conceived that they were making him their mere tool.

With such arts and qualities as these, joined to his military skill and reputation, we may account for

all his successes, and that prodigious authority to which he raised himself, without having recourse to that contract of his with the devil, of which (as Echard pretends) Colonel Lindsey was eye and ear-witness. In the course of his life he was temperate and sober, and despised those who were not so. In his family he showed great kindness, but without any diminution of his authority. He was very respectful to his mother, and very tender to his wife; yet neither had any influence over him. He expressed a deep sense of the concern, which the former discovered for his danger, heard whatever she said to him patiently, but acted as he thought proper, and in respect to her burial went directly against her dying request. His wife is said to have made a proposition tending to restore the King; and his son Richard to have expressed an anxious wish in behalf of his Sovereign's life; but he rejected both unmoved. He did not seem offended at applications of the same kind from other persons, as from Whitlocke, though that gentleman thought he lost his confidence by it; from the Marquis of Hertford, whom he treated very respectfully; and from Dr. Brownrig, Bishop of Exeter, to whom he showed more kindness than to any other man of his rank and profession.* He displayed a great respect for learning and learned men, without affecting to be learned himself. His Letters, however, are the best testimonies of his parts; for they are varied in their stile in a wonderful manner, exactly adapted to the purposes for which they were

* He once asked advice of this Prelate. "My advice," said he to him, "must be in the words of the Gospel: *Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's:*" to which Cromwell made no reply.

written, and the persons to whom they were addressed.* His public speeches were long, dark, and perplexed; and though mixed with the cant of the times, they yet have sentiments in them which show a superiority of understanding.† In his conversation he was easy and pleasant, and could unbend himself without losing his dignity. He made an excellent choice in those whom he employed, but trusted none of them farther than was necessary.

It may seem strange, that in drawing together his character, nothing more should be said of his principles, as to government or religion; but the real truth is, that neither can be discovered with certainty. We only know, negatively, that he hated a Commonwealth, and the Presbyterians; what his sentiments were in other respects, it is not possible to say. When he recollected himself after the follies of his youth, there seems to be no doubt that he ~~had~~ had serious impressions of religion; and strong proofs exist, that he was afterward tinctured with enthusiasm. The most probable hypothesis is, that he gradually lost all sense of religion, and only preserved the mask of it for the better carrying on his designs, and managing the different parties. It is idle indeed to dispute on the religion of a man, who rose to greatness by a succession of actions, both in conception and execution radically criminal. Clarendon mentions his speaking kindly of Bishops as if there was something good in that order, if the dross was scoured off; and appears to think he was in earnest. But the whole of his life proves, that he was not

* A great number of them are to be found in Thurloe's and Nichol's Collections, as well as in Rushworth and Whitlocke.

† Several of these, also, are in Whitlocke's 'Memorials.'

steady to any form of religion; and therefore his meaning, it may be presumed (if he spoke sincerely) was, that ‘he would return to the old form of government:’ for, whatever he pretended, this was his great aim. He did not overturn the constitution to leave it in ruins, but to set it up again, and himself at the head of it; and though he compared his own government at first to that of a high-constable, yet all his subsequent efforts were directed to get the chaos new formed, and his own authority sanctified by the regal title and the appearance of a legal parliament.

ADMIRAL BLAKE.*

[1598—1657.]

ROBERT BLAKE, whose name occupies one of the first places in the naval annals of England, and who for integrity and a truly patriotic spirit is unquestionably one of the first of her illustrious characters, was the son of a merchant in the Spanish trade settled at Bridgewater in Somersetshire, at which place he was born in 1598. From the Grammar School of Bridgewater he removed in 1615 to Oxford, where he was entered at St. Alban's Hall. Thence he migrated to Wadham College. His academical character was that of a youth, who with a considerable turn for study combined a love of rural amusement. In February, 1617, he took the degree of B. A.

He was early tinctured with republican principles, and in reprobation of the severity with which Dr. Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, pressed uniformity in his diocese, began to fall into the puritanical opinions. From the natural bluntness and sincerity of his disposition his sentiments speedily transpiring, the Puritan party procured his return for Bridgewater, in 1640. On the breaking out of the civil war, he

* AUTHORITIES. Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, and Lecliard's *Naval History*.

declared for the parliament. In 1643, he was at Bristol under the command of Colonel Fiennes, who entrusted him with a little fort on the line, and (as Clarendon informs us) when the Governor had agreed to surrender that city to Prince Rupert, he for some time held out, and was only preserved from punishment by the consideration of his inexperience in the laws of war. He served afterward in Somersetshire, and through his good intelligence in that county was enabled, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, to surprise Taunton for his employers. Of this place, the only garrison possessed by the parliament in the west, he was in 1644 appointed Governor; and though its works were not strong, its supplies adequate, or its garrison numerous, by his strict discipline and his kind behaviour to the townsmen he found means to keep it against the King's forces. Even when Goring, with nearly ten thousand men, had actually taken part of the town, Blake still held out the other part with the castle, till he received relief.* When the parliament had voted that 'no farther addresses should be made to his Majesty,' Colonel Blake concurred with the borough of Taunton in expressing his gratitude. He disapproved, however, of the trial of Charles as illegal; and was frequently heard to say, 'he would as freely venture his life to save the King, as ever he had done to save the parliament.' But this was, probably, chiefly owing to the humanity of his temper; as he subsequently united himself closely with the republican party, and was, perhaps, the

* For this service, the parliament ordered the garrison a bounty of two thousand, and the Governor a present of five hundred pounds.

ablest of their officers. In 1649, he was appointed, in conjunction with Colonel Deane and Colonel Popham, to command the fleet; and being ordered to sail with a squadron of men of war in pursuit of Prince Rupert, he blocked him up for four months in Kinsale Harbour. At last the Prince, despairing of relief by sea, and perceiving that Cromwell was on the point of taking the town by land, forced his way through Blake's squadron with the loss of three of his ships, and took refuge at Lisbon. Thither he was followed by Blake; but the Portuguese Monarch refusing him the privilege of attacking his foe, he took five Brazil vessels richly laden, and at the same time sent his Majesty notice that, 'unless he ordered the Prince's ships out of the Tagus, he would seize the rest of that fleet.' After various exertions and achievements; he pursued the Prince to the port of Carthagena, where he lay with the remainder of his ships; and instantly despatched a messenger to the Spanish Governor, informing him that 'an enemy to the State of England was in his port, whom as the King of Spain was in amity with the parliament, he desired leave to attack.' The Governor refusing his compliance, and Rupert escaping to Malaga, Blake followed him thither with the utmost expedition, and nearly destroyed his whole fleet.

In February 1651, he also took a French man of war of forty guns, and upon his return to England received the thanks of the parliament, and was made Warden of the Cinque Ports. His next service was the reducing of the Isles of Scilly, which were held for the King. He then sailed for Guernsey, and after a more stubborn resistance brought it under the

power of parliament. For these exertions, he was elected one of the Council of State.

In 1652, broke out the memorable war between the two Commonwealths of England and Holland, in which nothing less was contested than the dominion of the sea, and which was waged with a degree of animosity and resolution proportioned to the importance of the dispute. The chief commanders of the Dutch fleets were Van Trump, De Ruyter, and De Witt, the most celebrated names in their annals. The States General having carried on their trade without opposition, and almost without rivalry, not only throughout the inactive reign of James I. but also during the turbulent years of his successor, had attained great power and wealth; and with power and wealth, arrogance is but too commonly associated. Having recently equipped a large fleet, without any apparent subject of alarm for themselves, or any avowed design of attacking their neighbours, they were not beheld by the English without jealousy: and care was accordingly taken to fit out an armament, which might secure their trade from interruption, and their coasts from insult. Of this, Blake was constituted Admiral for nine months.

Thus situated, the two nations remained without hostilities on either side till the eighteenth of May, 1652, when Van Trump appeared in the Downs with forty five men of war. Blake, who had then but twenty three under his command, saluted him with three single shot, requiring that 'he should strike his flag:' upon which Van Trump, in contempt, fired on the contrary side. Blake fired a second and a third gun, which the Dutch Admiral answered with a broadside. The English Commander therefore, per-

ceiving his intention to fight, detached himself from the rest of the fleet with the view of preventing, if possible, a national quarrel. On his approach the next day he was received, contrary to the law of nations, with whole broadsides. Exasperated by this unexpected and unwarrantable treatment, and curling his whiskers, he commanded his men to 'answer the assailants in their own way,' and for some time stood alone against the whole Dutch fleet; till, the rest of his squadron coming up, after an engagement of some hours the enemy retired with the loss of two ships. It was remarkable, that the English lost not a single vessel, nor more than fifteen men. Most of these were on board the Admiral, who, as he wrote to the parliament, was 'himself engaged for four hours with the whole hostile squadron, being the mark at which they aimed,' and having received (as Whitlocke relates) above a thousand shot. In this letter, he acknowledges the particular blessing and preservation of God, and ascribes his success to the justice of his cause.

Blake now harassed the enemy, by capturing their merchant-ships, in which he had great success. After a successful cruize to the northward, from which he returned with six Dutch men of war and nine hundred prisoners, he stood over for the coast of Holland; and discovering the enemy about noon, though he had only three of his own ships with him, Vice Admiral Penn with his squadron being at some distance, and the rest a league or two astern, he bore down upon them; and, had not night intervened, it was thought not a single Dutchman would have escaped. The next day at day-break, he spied ~~them~~ to the north-east about two leagues off: but

not having the wind, he could not reach them; and being in want of provisions, he was compelled to return home. Having been obliged at this time to make large detachments from his fleet, Van Trump, with eighty men of war, resolved to seize the opportunity of attacking him in the Downs. Blake, receiving intelligence of this, called a Council of War, in which it was resolved to fight, though with so great a disadvantage. The engagement began on the twenty ninth of November about two in the morning, and lasted till near six in the evening. Blake himself was on board the *Triumph*; which with the *Victory* and the *Vanguard* suffered most, having been engaged at one time with twenty of the enemy's best ships. The Admiral, finding that the Dutch had the advantage of the wind, drew off his fleet during the night into the river Thames. In this engagement the *Garland* and *Bonaventure* were taken by the enemy, a small frigate was burnt, three sunk, and almost all the remaining ships considerably shattered. But Trump bought his victory dearly, one of his flag-ships being blown up, and his own vessel with that of De Ruyter being both disabled for service. The Dutch, however, were exceedingly elated by their success; and sent their Admiral through the Channel with a broom at his main-top-mast, to signify that 'he had swept the seas.' In the mean time Blake having repaired his fleet, and Monk and Dean being united in commission with him, on the eighth of February, 1653, he sailed from Queenborough with sixty men of war, which were soon joined by twenty more from Portsmouth; and ten days afterward discovered Van Trump with seventy ships of the line, and three hundred mer-

chantmen under his convoy. Blake, with twelve vessels, engaged this whole squadron: his own, the *Triumph*, received no less than seven hundred shot in her hull, and would probably have gone down, if she had not received timely relief from *Lawson* in the *Fairfax*. The Admiral, though grievously wounded in the thigh, continued the fight till night; when the Dutch, who had lost six men of war, retired. Blake, after putting on shore his wounded men at Portsmouth, pursued the enemy the following day, and renewed the engagement. The Dutch continued retreating toward Boulogne. On the third day the two fleets had a third encounter, when the wind blowing favourably for the enemy, they secured themselves on the flats of Dunkirk and Calais. In these successive actions, in which the Dutch lost eleven men of war, thirty merchant-ships, and one thousand five hundred men; the English lost only one ship, the *Samson*, but not fewer men than the enemy.

In the month of April, Cromwell tyrannically dissolved the parliament, and shortly afterward assumed the supreme power. From this measure the States General expected great advantages; but they were disappointed. Blake merely observed to his officers. "It is not for us to mind state-affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us."

On the fourth of June, he gained another splendid victory over his pertinacious opponents; and if they had not again saved themselves on Calais sands, their whole fleet would have been sunk or taken. Cromwell having called the 'Little Parliament,' Blake took his seat in the House, and received it's solemn thanks for his numerous and faithful services. The

Protector afterward summoned a new congress, consisting of four hundred members, in which Admiral Blake represented his native town of Bridgewater. On the sixth of December, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

In November, 1654, being despatched by Cromwell with a strong fleet into the Mediterranean, to support the honour of the English flag, and to procure satisfaction for any national injuries which might have been offered to our merchants; in the road of Cadiz, on his way, he was treated with the utmost respect: a Dutch Admiral declined to hoist his flag during his stay, and his health was drank with a salute of five guns by one of the French commanders. The Algerines stood in so much awe of his character, that in searching the Saltee-rovers, if they found any English prisoners on board, they sent them to him, with the hope of obtaining his favour. This, however, did not prevent him from forcing the Dey to sue for peace, and to grant satisfaction for his various piracies. From Algiers, he proceeded to Tunis on the same errand. The Tunisian Chief returned him a haughty answer: "Here (said he) are our castles of Galetta and Porto Ferino; do your worst: do you think we fear your fleet?" Upon which Blake, accepting the invitation, bore with his great ships into the bay of the latter fortress, and in two hours rendered it defenceless. Finding nine vessels in the road, he ordered his seamen in their boats to 'assault the pirates and burn them,' which service they accomplished with very inconsiderable loss.

This daring action spread the terror of his name, which had long been formidable in Europe, through

Africa and Asia; and with his name was associated that of his country. Most of the Italian States now thought fit to pay their compliments to the Protector; particularly the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Republic of Venice, who sent magnificent embassies for that purpose. War in the mean time having been declared against Spain, Blake used his utmost efforts to ruin their maritime force in Europe, as Penn had already done in the West Indies. But finding himself in a declining state of health, and fearing the ill consequences which might ensue to the fleet if he should die without a colleague, he desired some proper person to be named in commission with him; upon which, General Montagu* was sent Joint Admiral with a strong squadron. His subsequent achievements, with respect to the Spanish plate-ships off Cadiz, and more particularly in the road of Santa Cruz, Tenerife (where his exploit in burning ~~the~~ fleet is allowed to have been one of the most extraordinary that ever happened at sea) were conducted with his accustomed resolution and bravery. In the latter

* This officer, who perished in the Royal James, May 28, 1672, in an engagement with the Dutch fleet, Bishop Parker pronounces, "a gentleman adorned with all the virtues of Alcibiades, and untainted by any of his vices; of high birth; capable of any business; full of wisdom; a great commander at sea and land; and also learned and eloquent, affable, liberal, and magnificent." He was created Earl of Sandwich at the Restoration, and honoured with the Order of the Garter. He was always against regarding any qualification but merit, in the preferences of the navy; protesting invariably against 'showing favour to the relations of Peers or other persons of distinction, to the prejudice of those who had served longer or better;' and ~~this~~ rendered him the idol of the fleet.

rash action, by a providential veering about of the wind to the south-west (a circumstance, which had not previously occurred for many years) he was fortunately enabled to leave the bay, in which he must otherwise have been detained, without the loss of a single ship. Perceiving that his ships, however, were become foul, and being seized with a dangerous disorder, he resolved to sail for England. His distemper was a complication of dropsy and scurvy, brought upon him by continuing three years together at sea, without any of the conveniences requisite for the cure of his disease. In his passage home, it increased rapidly upon him; and he became so sensible of his approaching end, that he frequently inquired for land: but he, unfortunately, did not live to reach it; dying as he entered Plymouth Sound, August 17, 1657, at the age of about fifty nine. His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped in lead, his bowels taken out and buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corpse by order of the Protector brought by water to Greenwich House; thence to be transferred with the utmost pomp to Westminster Abbey.

On the fourth of September, after it had lain several days in state, it was conveyed from Greenwich in a magnificent barge covered with velvet; accompanied by his kindred, by the Privy Council, the Commissioners of the Admiralty and the Navy, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London; numerous Field Officers of the Army, and many other persons of quality in mourning wharries, marshalled by the Heralds at Arms who attended the solemnity. On landing at Westminster Bridge, they proceeded in the same manner, through a guard of several regi-

ments of foot, to the Abbey. His dear friend General Lambert, though then in disgrace with the Protector, attended on horseback. The body was interred in a vault built for the purpose in the Chapel of Henry VII.

“Such honours Cromwell to his hero paid:” but after the Restoration, his remains were brutally torn from the sanctuary of the tomb, and with those of others buried in a pit in St. Margaret’s church-yard; “in which place,” says Wood, “it now remaineth, enjoying no other monument but what is reared by his valour, which time itself can hardly efface.”

Blake (observes Lord Clarendon) was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the Captain of a ship had been, to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought ships to contempt castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire, as well as upon water; and though he has been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.

“He was a man,” says Mr. Chalmers, “of a low

stature ; but of a quick, lively eye, and of a good soldier-like countenance. He was in his person brave beyond example, yet cool in action, and showed a great deal of military conduct in the disposition of those desperate attacks, which men of a colder composition have judged rather fortunate than expedient. He certainly loved his country with extraordinary ardor ; and as he never meddled with any intrigues of state, so whatever government he served, he was solicitous to do his duty. He was upright to a supreme degree ; for, notwithstanding the vast sums which passed through his hands, he scarcely left five hundred pounds behind him of his own acquiring. In fine, he was altogether disinterested and unambitious, exposing himself on all occasions for the benefit of the public and the glory of the nation, and not with any view to his own private profit or fame.

In respect to his personal character, he was pious without affectation, strictly just, and liberal to the utmost extent of his fortune. His officers he treated with the familiarity of friends, and to his sailors he was truly a parent. The state buried him, as it was fit, at the public expense : a grave was given him, but no tomb ; and, though he still wants an epitaph, writers of all parties have shown an eagerness to do his memory justice. In a life of him, written by Dr. Johnson, occur some remarks concerning his conduct in the battle which he fought with the Dutch, November 29, 1652, which appear worthy of attention. “ There are sometimes (he states) observations and inquiries, which all historians seem to decline by agreement, of which this action may afford us an example. Nothing appears at first view more to demand our curiosity, or afford matter for examination, than this

wild encounter of twenty two ships with a force, according to their account who favour the Dutch, three times as superior. Nothing can justify a commander in fighting under such disadvantages, but the impossibility of retreating. But what hindered Blake from retiring, as well before the fight as after it? To say, 'he was ignorant of the strength of the Dutch fleet,' is to impute to him a very criminal degree of negligence; and at least it must be confessed, that from the time he saw them, he could not but know that they were too powerful to be opposed by him, and even then there was time for retreat. To urge 'the ardor of his sailors,' is to divest him of the authority of a commander, and to charge him with the most reproachful weakness that can enter into the character of a general. To mention 'the impetuosity of his own courage,' is to make the blame of his temerity equal to the praise of his valour; which seem indeed to be the most gentle censure, that the truth of history will allow. We must then admit, ~~amid~~ ⁱⁿ our eulogies and applauses, that the great, the wise and the valiant Blake was once betrayed to an inconsiderate and desperate enterprise by the resistless ardor of his own spirit and a noble jealousy of the honour of his country." This quotation we retain for the purpose of adding, that if the author had lived in the times of a St. Vincent or a Nelson, he would probably have viewed Blake's temerity in a different light.

Blake's behaviour to his brother Benjamin has been deservedly celebrated as one of the noblest instances of justice to his country, and at the same time of tenderness to a friend and relation, that can be met with in ancient or modern history. When

that brother betrayed cowardice in the first trial, he immediately broke him and sent him home, as unworthy of the nation's pay. Yet the want of military virtue did not lessen the ties of fraternal affection; and he left him to enjoy that estate, which he might be qualified to adorn in private life.

“Never man so zealous for a faction (says Hume) was so much respected, and esteemed, even by the opposite factions. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican: and the late usurpations, amidst all the trusts and caresses which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. ‘It is still our duty,’ he said to the seamen, ‘to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall.’ Disinterested, generous, liberal, ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies, he forms one of the most perfect characters of that age, and the least stained with those errors and violences which were then so predominant. The Protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge; but the tears of his countrymen were the most honourable panegyric on his memory.”

COLONEL HUTCHINSON.*

[1616—1664.]

COLONEL JOHN HUTCHINSON, the eldest son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson of Owthorpe in Nottinghamshire, Knight, by Margaret daughter of Sir John Byron of Newstead in the same county, was born at Nottingham in 1616; and after acquiring the rudiments of his education at that place, was removed thence to the Free-School at Lincoln. Here, when not occupied by his studies, he was exercised in military postures, assaults, and defences by an old Low Country soldier, who was employed to instruct his school-fellows in this way. From Lincoln he returned to Nottingham School; and upon quitting it, was admitted a Fellow-Commoner at Peter House, Cambridge, where he attained great credit for his learning, and took his degree with considerable reputation.

After five years' stay at the University, being then twenty years old, he revisited his father's house, who had now settled his habitation at Nottingham; but a new family of children by a second marriage having sprung up, which made his abode there not entirely agreeable, he obtained leave to go to London;

* AUTHORITIES. Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, and *Censura Literaria*, Vol. IV.

and there became a member of Lincoln's Inn. Finding however both the society and the study of the law unpleasant to his taste, and the plague (which broke out this spring) beginning to drive people from London, he retired to the house of his music-master at Richmond. Here, fortunately for his happiness, he met his future wife and biographer Lucy, eldest daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Victualler of the Navy ("a place then both of credit, and great revenue") and subsequently Lieutenant of the Tower, by Lucy daughter of Sir John St. John of Lydiard Tregoz in Wiltshire.*

* Of her education she herself gives the following account: "As soon as I was weaned, a French woman was taken to be my dry nurse, and I was taught to speak French and English together.—By that time I was four years old, I read English perfectly: and having a great memory, I was carried to sermons, and while I was very young, could remember and repeat them exactly, and being caressed, the love of praise tickled me and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about seven years of age, I remember I had at one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing, and needle-work. But my genius was quite averse from all but my book; and that I was so eager of, that my mother, thinking it prejudiced my health, would moderate me in it: yet this rather animated me than kept me back, and every moment I could steal from my play, I would employ in any book I could find, when my own were locked up from me. After dinner and supper, I still had an hour allowed me to play, and then I would steal into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learn Latin, and I was so apt that I outstripped my brothers, who were at school; although my father's chaplain, who was my tutor, was a pitiful dull fellow. My brothers, who had a great deal of wit, had some emulation at the progress I made in my learning, which very well pleased my father: though my mother would have been contented, I had not so wholly addicted myself to that, as to neglect my other qualities. As for music and

A great deal of good young company, indeed (she informs us) and many ingenuous persons, by reason of the court where the young Princes were bred, entertained themselves in that place, and had frequent resort to the house where Mr. Hutchinson tabled. He was soon courted into their acquaintance and invited to their houses, where he was nobly treated with all the attractive arts, that young women and their parents use to procure them lovers. But though some of them were very handsome, others wealthy, witty, and well-qualified; all of them set out with all the gayety and bravery, that vain women put on to set themselves off; yet Mr. Hutchinson could not be entangled in any of their fine snares; but without any taint of incivility, in such a way of handsome raillery reproved their pride and vanity, as made them ashamed of their glory and vexed that

dancing, I profited very little in them, and would never ~~practise~~ my lute or harp-sichord, but when my masters were with me; and for my needle, I absolutely hated it. Play among other children I despised, and when I was forced to entertain such as came to visit me I tired them with more grave instruction than their mothers, and plucked their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertained myself with chess company to whom I was very acceptable. And living in the house with many persons that had a great deal of wit, and very profitable serious discourses being frequent at my father's table and in my mother's drawing-room, I was very attentive to all, and gathered up things that I would utter again to great admiration of many, that took my memory and imitation for wit. It pleased God that through the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinced that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study; and accordingly applied myself to it, and to practise as I was taught, &c."

he alone, of all the young gentlemen that belonged to the court or neighbourhood, should be insensible of their charms.

Miss Apsley's younger sister, though her father's residence was only 'some half-mile distant,' was tabled in the same house for the practice of her lute; but she herself was at this time gone into Wiltshire with her mother,* for the accomplishment of a treaty that had been made some progress in, about her marriage with a gentleman of that country. From this little girl, whom Mr. Hutchinson sometimes attended on her walk home, he first learnt her sister's accomplishments and absence, as well as the cause of it; upon which "he began first to be sorry she was gone before he had seen her, and gone upon such an account that he was not likely to see her. Then he grew to love to hear mention of her," though represented by her companions as reserved and studious; and that with such ardor, as even "to wonder at himself that his heart, which had ever had such an

* Of this excellent lady her daughter relates the following story: Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr. Ruthin being prisoners in the Tower (during her husband's lieutenancy) and addicting themselves to chemistry, she suffered them to make their rare experiments at her cost; partly to comfort and divert the poor prisoners, and partly to gain the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to help such poor people as were not able to seek to physicians. By these means she acquired a great deal of skill, which was very profitable to many all her life. And hence was derived the surgical ability evinced by Mrs. Hutchinson, during the siege of Nottingham Castle. Perhaps (adds the editor of her Memoirs) prejudice will render it incredible that in the Bastile of Paris, which has become a proverbial expression to signify cruel durance, the conduct of the murdered Governor resembled that of Sir Allen Apsley. It is, nevertheless, true.

indifferency for the most excellent of woman-kind, should have such strong impulses toward a stranger he never saw : and, “ certainly (adds Mrs. Hutchinson, with great *naïveté*) it was of the Lord, though he perceived it not, who had ordained him through so many various providences to be yoked with her, in whom he found so much satisfaction.” *

When at last they met, she being disengaged from her imperfect contract, he found her “ not ugly, in a careless riding-habit, with a melancholy negligence of herself and others, as if she neither affected to please others, nor took notice of any thing before her. Yet spite of all her indifferency, she was surprised with some unusual liking in her soul when she saw this gentleman, who had hair, eyes, shape, and countenance enough to beget love in any one at the first ; and these set off with a graceful and generous mien, which promised an extraordinary person. He was at that time, and indeed always, very neatly habited : for he wore good and rich clothes, and had variety of them, and had them well-suited and every way answerable (in that little thing showing both good judgment and great generosity, he equally becoming them, and they him) which he wore with such unaffectedness and such neatness, as do not often meet in one.”

A mutual regard soon commenced between them ; and “ though she innocently thought nothing of love,

* He had been cautioned by a friend to take heed of Richmond, i. e. place “ so fatal for love, that never any young disengaged person went thither, who returned again free ! ” This, in those days, would probably have some weight, unconsciously, even upon his noble mind. His biographer, elsewhere, talks of “ the prevailing sympathies of his soul.”

yet she was glad to have acquired such a friend, who had wisdom and virtue enough to be trusted with her counsels." Proof to all the malignant suggestions of those, who were envious or jealous of their happy intercourse, he prosecuted his attachment "with so much discretion, duty, and honour, that at the length through many difficulties he accomplished his design. Never, indeed, was there a passion more ardent, and less idolatrous. He loved her better than his life with inexpressible tenderness and kindness, had a most high obliging esteem of her; yet still considered honour, religion, and duty above her; nor ever suffered the intrusion of such a dotage, as should blind him from marking her imperfections. These he looked on with such an indulgent eye, as did not abate his love and esteem of her, while it augmented his care to blot out all those spots, which might make her appear less worthy of that respect he paid her. And thus, indeed, he soon made her more equal to him, than he found her: for she was a very faithful mirror, reflecting truly, though but dimly, his own glories upon him, so long as he was present; but she, that was nothing before his inspection gave her a fair figure, when he was removed was only filled with a dark mist, and never could again take in any delightful object, nor return any shining representation." *

* This is a favourite image with her: "she only reflected his own glories upon him: all that she was, was him, while he was here; and all that she is now, at best but his pale shade." I cannot help adding some of her additional effusions of affectionate veneration in a note. "The greatest excellency she had was, the power of apprehending, and the virtue of loving his: so, as his shadow, she waited on him everywhere, till he

Even a very dangerous and loathsome attack of the small-pox, which “for the present made her the

was taken into that region of light which admits of none, and then she vanished into nothing. It was not her face he loved: her honour and her virtue were his mistresses, and these (like Pygmalion’s) images of his own making; for he polished, and gave form to, what he found with all the roughness of the quarry about it: but meeting with a compliant subject for his own wise government, he found as much satisfaction as he gave, and never had occasion to number his marriage among his infelicities.”

But “let not (she says elsewhere) excess of love, and delight, in the stream make us forget the fountain. He and all his excellences came from God, and flowed back into their own spring. There let us seek them; thither let us hasten after him: there having found him, let us cease to bewail among the dead that which is risen, or rather was immortal. His soul conversed with God so much when he was here, that it rejoices to be now eternally freed from interruption in that blessed exercise. His virtues were recorded in heaven’s annals, and can never perish; by them he yet teaches us, and all those to whose knowledge they shall arrive. ’Tis only his fetters, his sins, his infirmities, his diseases, that are dead never to revive again: nor would we have them. They were his enemies, and ours: by faith in Christ he vanquished them. Our conjunction, if we had any with him, was indissoluble. If we were knit together by one spirit into one body of Christ, we are so still: if we were mutually united in one love of God, good men, and goodness, we are so still. What is it then we wail in his remove? The distance? Faithless fools! Sorrow only makes it. Let us but ascend to God in holy joy for the great grace given his poor servant, and he is there with us. He is *only* removed from the malice of his enemies, for which we should not express love to him in being afflicted. We may mourn for ourselves, that we come so tardily after him, that we want his guidance and assistance in our way: and yet, if our tears did not put out our eyes, we should see him even in heaven holding forth his flaming lamp of virtuous example and precepts to light us through the dark world.”

She afterward proceeds to describe his person, and to dilate upon his virtues: his Christianity (or, as she defines it, “that

most deformed person that could be seen," nothing troubled his love. On the third of July, 1638, as soon as she was able to quit the chamber, when the priest and all that saw her were affrighted to look on her, he married her on whom his soul doted. The ceremony took place in St. Andrew's Church, Holborn. God restored her, at length, "as well as before."

During the two years which followed, in the bosom of domestic privacy he prosecuted with the greatest delight the study of divinity. "It was a remarkable providence of God in his life," says his tender biographer, "that must not be passed over without special notice, that he gave him these two years' leisure, and a heart so to employ it, before the noise of war and tumult came upon him. Yet about

universal habit of grace wrought in the soul by the regenerating spirit of God, whereby the whole creature is resigned up into the divine will and love, and all it's actions designed to the obedience and glory of it's Maker) his hatred of persecution, sanguinary or sneering, of outsidings in religion, and of denials of the Lord and base compliances with his adversaries; his prudence, his forgetting nothing but injuries, his freedom from obstinacy, his readiness to hear as well as speak, his excellent virtuous modesty, his noble spirit of government, his native majesty and sweet greatness, his clear discerning of men's spirits, his love of learning and the arts, his wit, his courage, his justice, his sincerity, his obedience and love to his father, his conjugal affection and liberality, his magnanimity, his exemption from ambition, pride, avarice, and slothfulness, his tenderness of heart, and his universal temperance in meat, drink, apparel, and every species even of lawful pleasure: so that of him, as of Brutus, might be correctly predicated,

' His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him, that nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, "This was a man."'

(*Jul. Cæs.* v. 5.)

the year 1639, the thunder was heard afar off rattling in the troubled air, and even the most obscured woods were penetrated with some flashes, the forerunners of the dreadful storm which the next year was more apparent."

With a view of increasing his income, he was at this time on the point of purchasing a place in the Court of Star-Chamber, when it was frustrated by an accident which Mrs. Hutchinson regarded as a providential interference. In October 1641, therefore, he retired to the family-house at Owthorpe. Here he applied himself to understand the things then in dispute, and read all the public papers that came forth between the King and parliament, beside many other private treatises both concerning the present and foregoing times. Hereby he became abundantly informed in his understanding, and convinced in conscience of the righteousness of the parliament's cause in point of civil right: and though he was satisfied of the endeavours to restore Popery and subvert the true Protestant religion, which indeed was apparent to every one that impartially considered it, yet he did not deem that so clear a ground for the war, as the defence of the just English liberties; and although he was clearly swayed by his own judgement and reason to the parliament, he thinking he had no warrantable call at that time to do any thing more, contented himself with praying for peace."

He was now through the influence of Ireton, his relation, put into the Commission of the Peace; and soon afterward presented a petition of the yeomanry and others of that stamp belonging to his own county to the King at York, requesting him 'to return to his parliament:' a circumstance, that gave much un-

easiness to his loyal relations the Byrons. Henceforward, he embarked in the cause of the people; and other events immediately followed, which confirmed him in it.

Almost the whole of Nottinghamshire, however, as we learn from Mrs. Hutchinson, was generally for the King. "The greatest family," she says, "was the Earl of Newcastle's,* a Lord so much beloved in his country, that when the first expedition was against the Scots, the gentlemen of the country set him forth two troops (one all of gentlemen, the other of their men) who waited on him into the North at their own charges. He had indeed, through his great estate, his liberal hospitality, and constant residence in his country, so endeared them to him, that no man was a greater prince than he in all that northern quarter: till a foolish ambition of glorious slavery carried him to court, where he ran himself much in debt to purchase neglects of the King and Queen, and scorns of the proud courtiers."†

Mr. Hutchinson would gladly have remained at a home, of which he had so lately taken possession, if he could have been suffered to remain quietly in it: but his attachment to the parliament having attracted notice, he became an object of envy to the opposite party. Driven into active warfare, he me-

* William Cavendish, afterward Marquis and Duke of Newcastle, of Welbeck Abbey: whose landed rental, even in those days, exceeded 22,000*l. per ann.*

† The near coincidence of this portrait with that given by Lord Clarendon, though Clarendon was of the opposite party, is a clear presumption of the reliance which may be placed upon both.

dictated how he might best promote the interests which he had espoused. The town of Nottingham furnished one of the principal passes into the North in the winter season, when the Trent is only to be crossed by its bridge, that of Newark, or at Wilden Ferry where the enemy had a garrison. This town therefore he resolved, if possible, to secure to the parliament. He well knew the difficulty of what he undertook, and considered himself as the forlorn hope of those, who were engaged in it: but his invincible courage and passionate zeal for a cause, which he believed to be just, impelled him to persevere.*

On the twenty-ninth of June, 1643, the Castle of

* To his other perils may be added that, which he encountered, when the King's soldiers were plundering all the honest men of Nottingham of their arms. As one of them had taken a musket, seeing Mr. Hutchinson go by, he wished it 'loaden for his sake;' and said, 'he hoped the day would shortly come, when all such Roundheads would be fair marks for them.' This name of 'roundhead' coming so opportunely in, observes Mrs. Hutchinson, I shall make a little digression to tell how it came up. When puritanism grew into a faction, the zealots distinguished themselves, both men and women, by several affectations of habit, looks, and words; which, had it been a real declension of vanity and embracing of sobriety in all those things, had been most commendable in them: but their quick forsaking of those things, when they were where they would be, showed that they either never took them up for conscience, or were corrupted by their prosperity to take up those vain things; they durst not practise under persecution. Among other affected habits few of the puritans, what degree soever they were of, wore their hair long enough to cover their ears; and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads, with so many little peaks as was somewhat ridiculous to behold: whereupon Cleaveland, in his 'Hue and Cry' after them, begins,

With hair in characters and lugs in text, &c.'

Nottingham was committed to Colonel* Hutchinson's care. This fortress, ill secured and ill provided, he set himself as speedily as possible to repair. Soon afterward, his father died, and did him much injustice by his will: but this he bore with his accustomed fortitude, not suffering it to abate his public ardor. Attempts were now made to shake his fidelity through the medium of his cousin, Sir Richard Byron; upon which he replied, 'that except he found his own heart prone to such treachery, he might consider there was, if nothing else, so much of a Byron's blood in him, that he should very much scorn to

From this custom of wearing their hairs, that name of 'roundhead' became the scornful term given to the whole parliament party; whose army indeed marched out so, but as if they had been sent out only till their hair was grown: two or three years after, any stranger that had seen them, would have inquired the reason of that name. It was very ill applied to Mr. Hutchinson, who having naturally a very fine thickset head of hair, kept it clean and handsome, so that it was a great ornament to him: although the godly of those days, when he embraced their party, would not allow him to be religious, because his hair was not in their cut, nor his words in their phrase, nor such little formalities altogether fitted to their humour, who were (many of them) so weak, as to esteem rather for such insignificant circumstances, than for solid wisdom, piety, and courage, which brought real aid and honour to their party. But as Mr. Hutchinson chose not them, but the God they served, and the truth and righteousness they defended; so did not their weakness, censures, ingratitude, and discouraging behaviour, with which he was abundantly exercised all his life, make him forsake them in any thing wherein they adhered to just and honourable principles or practices: but when they apostatised from these, none cast them off with greater indignation, how shining soever the profession were that gut, not a temple of living grace, but a tomb which only held the carcase of religion."

* He had been chosen Lieutenant Colonel of Pierrepont's regiment of foot.

betray or quit a trust he had undertaken. But the grounds he went on were such, that he very much despised such a thought, as to sell his faith for base rewards or fears; and therefore could not consider the loss of his estate, which his wife was as willing to part with as himself in this cause, wherein he was resolved to persist in the same place, in which it had pleased God to call him to the defence of it.'

Henceforward he continued the defence of his Castle with much ability and courage, not only against the enemy, but against many internal intrigues, till 1647; when, thinking the command no longer worthy of himself or his brother, he transferred it to his kinsman Captain Poulton. He then removed his family back to his own house at Owthorpe; but found that as it had stood uninhabited, and been pillaged of every thing which the neighbouring garrisons of Shelford and Wiverton could carry from it, it could scarcely be adequately repaired with less charge than would almost build another. He made a bad shift with it, however, for that year.

Not long afterward, followed the trial of the unhappy Monarch. "After the purgation of the House," says his biographer, "upon new debate of the Treaty of the Isle of Wight, it was concluded dangerous to the realm, and destructive to the better interest; and the trial of the King was determined. He was sent for to Westminster, and a commission given forth to a court of High Justice, whereof Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, was president; and divers honourable persons of the parliament, city, and army, nominated Commissioners. Among them,

Colonel Hutchinson was one, who very much against his own will was put in: but looking upon himself as called hereunto, durst not refuse it; as holding himself obliged by the covenant of God, and the public trust of his country reposed in him, although he was not ignorant of the danger he ran, as the condition of things then was.

His vote for the death of the King Mrs. Hutchinson has endeavoured to justify as follows: "As for Mr. Hutchinson, although he was very much confirmed in his judgement concerning the cause, yet here being called to an extraordinary action, whereof many were of several minds, he addressed himself to God by prayer; desiring the Lord that 'if through any human frailty he were led into any error or false opinion in these great transactions, he would open his eyes and not suffer him to proceed, but that he would confirm his spirit in the truth, and lead him by right enlightened conscience:' and finding no check, but a confirmation in his conscience, that it was his duty to act as he did, he upon serious debate both privately and in addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious upright unbiassed persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the King. Although he did not then believe, but it might one day come to be again disputed among men; yet both he and others thought, they could not refuse it without giving up the people of God, whom they had led forth and engaged themselves unto by the oath of God, into the hands of God's and their enemies: and therefore he cast himself upon God's protection, acting according to the dictates of a conscience, which he had sought the Lord

to guide, and accordingly the Lord did signalise his favours to him."

He quickly penetrated Cromwell's designs of private ambition, and was treated by him accordingly. He still, however, attended his duty in parliament. The only recreation he had, during his residence at London, was in seeking out all the rare artists he could hear of, and in considering their works in paintings, sculpture, gravings, and all other such curiosities, inso-much that he became a great virtuoso and patron of ingenuity. Being loth that the land should be dis-furnished of all the rarities that were in it, whereof many were set to sale in the King's and divers noblemen's collections, he laid out about two thousand pounds in the choicest pieces of painting, most of which were bought out of the King's goods, which were given to his servants to pay their wages. To them the Colonel gave ready money, and bought so good pennyworths, that they were valued much more than they cost. These he brought down into the country, intending a very neat cabinet for them: and these, with the surveying of his buildings and improving by enclosure the place he lived in, employed him at home, and for a little time hawks abroad: but when a very sober fellow, that never was guilty of the usual vices of that generation of men, rage and swearing, died, he gave over his hawks, and pleased himself with music, and again fell to the practice of his viol, on which he played excellently well; and, entertaining tutors for the diversion and education of his children in all sorts of music, he pleased himself in these innocent recreations during Oliver's mutable reign. As he had

great delight, so he had great judgement, in music, and advanced his children's practice more than their tutors: he also was a great supervisor of their learning, and indeed himself a tutor of them all, beside all those tutors which he liberally entertained in his house for them. He spared not any cost for the education of both his sons and daughters in languages, sciences, music, dancing, and all other qualities befitting their father's house. He was himself their instructor in humility, sobriety, and all godliness and virtue, which he rather strove to make them exercise with love and delight, than by constraint. As other things were his delight, this only he made his business; to attend the education of his children, and the government of his own house and town. This he performed so well, that never was any man more feared and loved than he by all his domestics, tenants, and hired workmen. He was loved with such a fear and reverence, as restrained all rude familiarity and insolent presumptions in those who were under him; and he was feared with so much love, that they all delighted to do his pleasure. As for the public business of the country, he could not act in any office under the Protector's power; and therefore confined himself to his own, which the whole country about him were grieved at, and would rather come to him for counsel as a private neighbour, than to any of the men in power for greater help.

Of Richard Cromwell, Mrs. Hutchinson briefly observes, that he was so flexible to good counsels, that there was nothing desirable in a prince which might not have been hoped in him, but a great spirit and a just title; the first of which sometimes doth more hurt

than good in a Sovereign, the latter would have been supplied by the people's deserved approbation.

During the events which immediately preceded the Restoration, the Colonel was by many of his friends attempted every way to fall in with the King's interest, and often offered both pardon and preferment, if he could be wrought off from his party, whose danger was now laid before him; but they could no way move him.

He was chosen in the new parliament to represent the town of Nottingham; and on the twenty fifth of April, 1660, went up to attend his duty in the House of Commons. On the twenty ninth of May, Charles II. re-entered London. Upon this occurrence they, who had acted a principal part in the late times, and who now sat in the House, were expected to make some recantation of their conduct. When it came to Hutchinson's turn, he said, 'that for his acting in those days, if he had erred, it was the inexperience of his age and the defect of his judgement, and not the malice of his heart, which had ever prompted him to pursue the general advantage of his country more than his own; and if the sacrifice of him might conduce to the public peace and settlement, he should freely submit his life and fortunes to their disposal: that the vain expense of his age, and the great debts his public employments had run him into, as they were testimonies that neither avarice nor any other interest had carried him on, so they yielded him just cause to repent, that he ever forsook his own blessed quiet to embark in such a troubled sea, where he made shipwreck of all things but a good conscience; and, as to that particular action of the King, he desired them to believe

that he had that sense of it that befitted an Englishman, a Christian, and a gentleman.*

The result of the deliberations of that day was, to suspend Colonel Hutchinson and the rest from sitting in parliament; but he was not one of the seven, who were excepted from mercy. Yet afterward, although he was cleared both for life and estate in the House of Commons, not answering the court-expectations in public recantations and dissembled repentance and applause of their cruelty to his fellows, the Chancellor was cruelly exasperated against him, and there were strenuous endeavours to have razed him out of the Act of Oblivion; but Sir Allen Apsley's interest, and fervent endeavours for him, turned the scales in his favour.

He now retired into the country; but, while he saw his old compatriots suffering, he was ill-satisfied with himself for having accepted mercy. His enemies were not better satisfied with his escape. They still cherished their malice against him, and only waited for an opportunity to show it. In the autumn of 1663, he had relieved with money one Palmer, a non-conforming minister, at that time in Nottingham gaol: and ostensibly for this offence he was arrested at Owthorpe, and under a warrant of Secretary Bennet for treasonable practices committed to the Tower. Upon his examination, however, at

* This speech, observes the Editor of 'Colonel Hutchinson's Memoirs,' will probably be considered as a specimen of art carried as far as a man of honour would permit himself to go, and managed with as much refinement and dexterity as the longest premeditation could have produced. Accordingly, it furnished his friends with a topic for his defence, without giving his adversaries ground to impute to him any tergiversation

Whitehall his answers were such, as to leave no impression of guilt.*

An order, nevertheless, was issued to remove him to Sandown Castle, near Deal in Kent; a lamentable old ruined place, almost a mile distant from the town, the rooms all out of repair, not weather-free, no kind of accommodation either for lodging or diet, or any conveniency of life. Mrs. Hutchinson and her daughter were, in consequence, obliged to take lodgings at Deal. Yet the Colonel did not lose his cheerfulness. He entertained himself with sorting and shadowing cockle-shells; but his business and continual study was, the Scripture. As it drew toward the close of the year, his wife was obliged to go to Owthorpe to fetch for him the children and other supplies. His daughter and brother staid at Deal, and coming to him every day, accompanied him to the sea-side, a liberty with which he was now indulged. When his wife left him, he was well and cheerful, and confident of seeing Owthorpe again. On the third of September however, in the following year, after walking upon the beach, he came home aguish and went to bed. The disorder, with some variations, increased; and on the fourth day he rose to sleep no more until his last sleep came upon him, continuing the whole time in a feverish distemper. He died September 11, 1664, in the forty ninth year of his age, and was buried at Owthorpe.

The poetical part of the inscription upon his

* Their suspicions were founded on the idea of a northern plot. When Sir Allen Apsley appealed to the Chancellor, his answer was, "Your brother is the most unchanged person of his party."

monument, supposed to have been written by Mrs. Hutchinson, is here inserted :

‘ This monument doth not commemorate
Vain airy glorious titles, birth, and state ;
But sacred is to free illustrious grace,
Conducting happily a mortal’s race;
To end in triumph over death and hell,
When like the prophet’s cloke the frail flesh fell,
Forsaken as a dull impediment,
Whilst love’s swift fiery chariot climb’d th’ ascent.
Nor are the relics lost, but only torn,
To be new made and in more lustre worn.
Full of this joy he mounted, he lay down,
Threw off his ashes, and took up his crown :
Those, who lost all their splendor in his grave,
E’en there yet no inglorious period have.’

The character of a man of inflexible virtue, says Sir Egerton Brydges, actuated solely by the purest principles of patriotism, opposing tyranny without a trait of the hatred of greatness; seeking the post of difficulty and danger, without a wish for the vanity of rank and honours; a zealous and energetic supporter of his cause, yet frank and discriminative, and free from the virulence and rant and prejudices of party when party raged in it’s utmost fury—commands such respect and admiration, that we listen to his opinions, and pursue his actions, with feelings of involuntary inclination toward them.

No rational man can question, that the sentiments and conduct of the Monarch and his ministry did actually not only threaten, but intrench upon, the just liberties of the people. Some resistance became necessary: circumstances, in which both parties were perhaps to blame, at length caused the scabbard to be thrown away; and from that moment

the purest and wisest patriots might think, and perhaps think rightly, that there was no medium between victory and despotism.

What noble and indignant mind could bear the scoffs, and insults, and tyranny, and injuries, and follies of profligate and abandoned courtiers, the minions of state raised from obscurity without merit, and fattening in the spoils of the land? Henry VII. had begun, systematically, to break the power of the feudal nobility; and the check, which they formed upon the crown, was now nearly extinguished. The families of Vere, and Stafford, and Grey, and Hastings, and Clinton, and Stanley, and Percy, and Howard, and others of that stamp were in poverty or depression. New Lords sprung from favouritism, or enriched within half a century from the harvest of the Reformation, or just emerged from the north of the Tweed, swarmed both in the metropolis and in every county: Buckingham, and his brothers, and cousins to the fourth degree, shone in a splendor surpassing royalty. But these, as they had lately risen from the hot-bed of royal prerogative, could neither be any control upon it, nor have any interests or sentiments in common with the people. Necessity, therefore, operating upon the expansion of mind created by navigation and commerce, raised up a spirit and a power in the people themselves to combat and countervail the growing encroachments of the sceptre. To fan this flame, there was intermingled much false enthusiasm, much horrid hypocrisy, much unjust depreciation of well-acquired rank, and much sophistical and half-witted reasoning on 'natural equality and the rights of man.' But the collision of the contest struck out, also, many

important truths, and dissipated many artful or servile prejudices, which had long enchained or overawed the intellects of the commonalty.

At a period so critical, the cowardly or the imbecile alone could remain neutral. A man of stern virtue, who abominated the luxuries and dissipations of courts, and had a head fond of busying itself in all the severe ingenuity of abstract politics, was exempt from the force of seductions, which however amiable, must be admitted to operate by other powers than those of reason. To him the splendor of a palace, the imposing dignity of titles, and all the outward brilliance which surrounds them, put forth their rays ineffectually. Could not such a man, especially if resident in the country like Colonel Hutchinson, as virtuously (at least) have embraced the cause of the Parliament, as of the King?

The result proved whither the fury of the mob, once roused, will lead; and later events in a neighbouring kingdom have too fatally confirmed it. Indeed every man of sagacity must at all times have been aware, how dangerous it is to appeal to the passions of the populace. But this is no reason for forbearing such appeal in extreme cases: otherwise, what can stop despotism, when it is inclined (as it too often is) to extend its encroachments beyond endurance? There are some evils, for which, in the pursuit of a remedy, we must incur the chance of other evils. In common cases, patience may be a virtue; but there are points, at which it becomes a contemptible weakness.

That Charles I. was a monarch of many attractive accomplishments, and many excellent qualities, Mrs.

Hutchinson herself confesses.* He had, likewise, excellent and devoted followers. The virtuous Earl of Newcastle, to whose integrity we have the same irrefragable testimony, had been slighted and disoblged by the court; yet he broke from his beloved ease, and the luxury of a princely retirement, to embark his immense property and his life in his Sovereign's service: and the enlightened, the conscientious, and the heroic Lord Falkland engaged on the same side, and sealed his sincerity with his blood. It is true, they were both men deeply interested in the preservation of aristocratical privileges, which in

* She bears likewise, satisfactory evidence, after all her experience, to the spirit of the British constitution: "Better laws and a happier constitution of government no nation ever enjoyed, it being a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, with sufficient fences against the pest of every one of these forms—tyranny, faction, and confusion. Yet is it not possible for man to devise such just and excellent bounds as will keep in wild ambition, when princes' flatterers encourage that beast to break his fence, which it hath often done with miserable consequences both to the prince and people; but could never in any age so tread down popular liberty, but that it rose again with renewed vigour, till at length it trod on those that trampled it before. And in the first bounds, wherein our Kings were so well hedged in, the surrounding princes have with terror seen the reproof of their usurpations over their free brethren, whom they rule rather as slaves than subjects, and are only served for fear, but not for love; whereas this people have ever been as affectionate to good, as unpliant to bad, Sovereigns." Upon which the Editor of her Memoirs remarks, that 'Nothing but the extreme abuses which had prevailed, and the failure of all practicable modes of reform through the ill faith of the Monarch, could have decided her or her husband to endeavour the establishment of a republic, how great soever was their zeal for it's support when established.'

the rude dispute that had now commenced were thrown into jeopardy.

“ Indeed that resplendent body of light,” observes his eloquent and affectionate widow, “ which the beginning and ending of his life made up to discover the enormities of this wicked age, and to instruct the erring children of this generation, will through my apprehension and expression shine as under a very thick cloud, which will obscure much of their lustre ; but there is need of this medium to this world’s weak eyes, which I fear hath but few people in it so virtuous as can believe, because they find themselves so short, any other could make so large a progress in the race of piety, honour, and virtue. But I am almost stopped, before I set forth to trace his steps ; finding the number of them such as my unskillful pen cannot describe. I fear to injure that memory, which I would honour, and to disgrace his name with a poor monument : but when I have beforehand laid this necessary caution, and ingenuously confessed that through my inability either to receive or administer much of that wealthy stock of his glory, that I was entrusted with for the benefit of all and particularly his own posterity, I must withhold a great part from them ; I hope I shall be pardoned for drawing an imperfect image of him, especially when even the rudest draught, that endeavours to counterfeit him, will have much delightful loveliness in it.

* * * * *

It is time (she adds) that I let into your knowledge that splendor which, while it cheers and enlightens your heavy senses. let us remember to give

all his and all our glory to God alone, who is the Father and Fountain of all light and excellence.

“Desiring, if my treacherous memory have not lost the dearest treasure that ever I committed to it's trust, to relate to you his holy, virtuous, honourable life, I would put his picture in the front of his book, but my unskilful hand will injure him. Yet to such of you, as have not seen him to remember his person, I leave this his description :

“He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well proportioned shape in all parts; his complexion fair; his hair of light brown, very thick set in his youth, softer than the finest silk, curling into loose great rings at the ends; his eyes of a lively gray, well shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions; his visage thin; his mouth well made, and his lips very ruddy and graceful, yet it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming; his teeth even, and white as the purest ivory; his chin was something long, and the mold of his face; his forehead was not very high; his nose was raised and sharp; but withal he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and majesty mixed with sweetness, that at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him. His skin was smooth and white; his legs and feet excellently well made. He was quick in his pace and turns, nimble and active and graceful in all his motions; he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him. He could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it; he had skill in fencing, such as became a gentleman; he had a great love to music, and often

diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly; he had an exact ear and judgement in other music. He shot excellently in bows and guns, and much used them for his exercise. He had great judgement in paintings, graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of value in all kinds. He took great delight in perspective-glasses; and for his other rarities, was not so much affected with the antiquity, as the merit of the work. He took much pleasure in improvement of grounds, in planting groves and walks and fruit-trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds: of country recreations he loved none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he used it, but soon left it off. He was wonderfully neat, cleanly and genteel in his habit, and had a very good fancy in it; but he left off very early the wearing of any thing that was costly, yet in his plainest negligent habit appeared very much a gentleman. He had more address, than force of body; yet the courage of his soul so supplied his members, that he never wanted strength, when he found occasion to employ it. His conversation was very pleasant; for he was naturally cheerful, and had a ready wit and apprehension. He was eager in every thing he did, earnest in dispute, but withal very rational, so that he was seldom overcome. Every thing, that it was necessary for him to do, he did with delight: free and unconstrained, he hated ceremonious compliments, but yet had a natural civility and complaisance to all people. He was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spirit could undergo labours, watchings, and journeys, as well as any of stronger compositions. He

was rheumatic, and had a long sickness and distemper occasioned thereby, two or three years after the war ended; but else, for the latter half of his life, was healthy though tender. In his youth and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weakness and tooth-aches; but then his spirits carried him through them. He was very patient under sickness, or pain, or any common accidents: but yet upon occasions, though never without just ones, he would be very angry, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be feared; yet he was never outrageous in passion. He had a very good faculty in persuading, and would speak very well, pertinently and effectually, without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offered: for, indeed, his judgement was so nice, that he could never frame any speech beforehand to please himself; but his invention was so ready, and wisdom so habitual in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himself of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand. He was not talkative, yet free of discourse, of a very spare diet, not much given to sleep, an early riser when in health. He never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one else so. In all his natural and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was something extraordinary and tending to virtue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gathered from a bare dead description: there was a life of spirit and power in him, that is not to be found in any copy drawn from him. To sum up, therefore, all that can be said of his outward frame and disposition, we must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well furnished lodging prepared for the reception

of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent virtues reigned there a while, till he was called back to the palace of the Universal Emperor.

* * * * *

“ His whole life was the rule of temperance in meat, drink, apparel, pleasure, and all those things that may be lawfully enjoyed ; and herein his temperance was more excellent than in others, in whom it is not so much a virtue, but proceeds from want of appetite or gust of pleasure : in him it was a true, wise, and religious government of the desire and delight he took in the things he enjoyed. He had a certain activity of spirit, which could never endure idleness either in himself or others ; and that made him eager for the time he indulged it, as well in pleasure as in business. Indeed, though in his youth he exercised innocent sports a little while, yet afterward his business was his pleasure : but how intent soever he were in any thing, how much soever it delighted him, he could freely and easily cast it away, when God called him to something else. He had as much modesty as could consist with a true virtuous assurance, and hated an impudent person. Neither in youth, nor riper age, could the most fair or enticing women ever draw him so much as into unnecessary familiarity, or vain converse, or dalliance with them ; yet he despised nothing of the female sex, but their follies and vanities. Wise and virtuous women he loved, and delighted in all pure, holy, and unblamable conversation with them ; but so as never to excite scandal or temptation. Scurrilous discourse, even among men, he abhorred ; and though he sometimes took pleasure in wit and mirth, yet that

which was mixed with impurity he could never endure. The heat of his youth a little inclined him to the passion of anger, and the goodness of his nature to those of love and grief: but reason was never dethroned by them, but continued governess and moderator in his soul."

GEORGE MONK,
DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.*

[1608—1667.]

GEORGE MONK, the memorable instrument of the restoration of Charles II., was descended from an ancient family, settled in the reign of Henry III. at Potheridge in Devonshire, at which place he was born in the year 1608. He was, likewise, educated there by his grandfather and godfather Sir George Smith, with whom he chiefly resided.

Being the younger son of Sir Thomas Monk, whose fortune had been reduced, he dedicated himself to arms from his youth; and in his seventeenth year entered as a volunteer † under his kinsman Sir Richard Greenville, then on the point of setting out under Lord Wimbledon on the ill-concerted and worse-executed expedition against Spain, in 1625.

This failure, however, neither damped his courage, nor changed his inclination; for, in 1626, he carried a

* **AUTHORITIES.** Hume's *History of England*, *General Biographical Dictionary*, and Harris' *Historical and Critical Account of Charles II.*

† To this he was the more immediately impelled, by his having filially caued an Under-Sheriff who, contrary to his promise, had arrested his father at a public meeting of the county.

pair of colours under Sir John Burroughs, in the enterprise against the Isle of Rhè. Hence he returned at the end of the war, in 1628; and the following year served as Ensign in the Low Countries, under Lords Oxford and Goring successively, by the latter of whom he was promoted to the rank of Captain of his own company. In this station, he was concerned in several sieges and battles; when after having during ten years of close application made himself master of his profession, and become extremely useful to the service, upon a disgust given him by the Prince of Orange, he returned to his native country at the commencement of the first war between Charles I. and his Scottish subjects. His military character, seconded by the powerful recommendations of the Earl of Leicester and Lady Carlisle, now procured him the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in Lord Newport's regiment, in which capacity he attended the King's northern expeditions.

The treaty commenced at Ripon, and the summoning of a parliament had scarcely put an end to this struggle, when the Irish rebellion broke out; and the Earl of Leicester, then Lord Lieutenant, having raised him to the rank of Colonel, he went over to that island, and for his various services was appointed by the Lords Justices Governor of Dublin. But the parliament interfering, his office was transferred to another; soon after which, he returned to England with his regiment and the rest of the troops sent home by the Marquis of Ormond,* and upon his arrival at Bristol was arrested by orders both from Ireland and from the court at Oxford, on a

* On his signing a truce with the Irish rebels, in 1643.

suspicion of his designing to join the parliamentary forces. Hawley, however, the Governor of that city, convinced of his innocence, suffered him to proceed to Oxford on his parole; where he fully justified himself.

He was now raised to the rank of Major General in the Irish brigade, commanded by Lord Byron, and employed in the siege of Nantwich in Cheshire; but he was only able to join them in time to witness the taking of the whole by Sir Thomas Fairfax. From Hull, whither Monk was sent among the other prisoners, he was shortly afterward conveyed to the Tower of London, and remained in close confinement till November, 1646;* when, on the solicitation of his kinsman Lord Lisle,† he took the Covenant, engaged with the parliament, and agreed to accept a command in the Irish service.

With Lord Lisle he embarked for Ireland, in the beginning of the year 1647; but Ormond refusing to deliver up the city of Dublin without the King's command, they were obliged to steer for Cork, near which they landed. Not being able however to perform any signal service, and his Lordship's commission expiring in April, they returned home: soon after which Monk, being placed at the head of the parliamentary forces in the north of Ireland, for the third time revisited that kingdom. But the Scots under Major General Menro refusing to join the English in this service, the new Com-

* During this period, he drew up his 'Observations on Military and Political Affairs,' and sent them in MS. to Lord Lisle, by whose direction they were published after his death.

† Eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, who upon the Marquis of Ormond's declaring for the King, was made Deputy of Ireland.

mander in Chief was involved in many difficulties, and eventually compelled to make a treaty with the rebel O'Neal, and to surrender Dundalk to Lord Inchiquin who commanded for the King. For the former of these measures, in particular, he was called to account by his employers, who however softened their censure as far as the General himself was concerned, declaring that 'he should not be questioned for his conduct:' but he never forgave the affront.

His elder brother dying about this period without male issue, the family-estate devolved upon him, and he found no small trouble in recovering it from the ruinous condition in which it had been left by his predecessors. He had scarcely settled his private affairs, when he was called upon to serve against the Scots, and rendered himself extremely useful to Cromwell, particularly at the memorable battle of Dunbar.

After this victory, he was employed in dispersing a body of irregulars, known by the name of 'Moss-Troopers;' and in reducing Darlington, Roswell, Borthwick, and Tantallon castles, in which they had been accustomed to take refuge. He was, also, concerned in settling the articles for the surrender of Edinburgh Castle: and, being left Commander in Chief in the north by Cromwell, when that general returned to England in pursuit of Charles II., he besieged and took Stirling, whence he sent all the Scottish archives to London, and carried Dundee by storm; in imitation of Cromwell's Irish cruelties putting Lunsdale, the Governor, and eight hundred men to the sword.

Soon afterward, St. Andrew's and Aberdeen submitted to his sword; but being seized with a violent

fit of illness, he was obliged in 1652 to repair to Bath. Upon his recovery, he set out again for Scotland, as one of the Commissioners for uniting that kingdom with the newly erected English Commonwealth; a function, which he discharged with ability and success.

The Dutch war having now continued for some months, Monk on the death of Popham was joined with the Admirals Blake and Dean in the command at sea; and by his courage and conduct contributed greatly to the decisive victories of the second of June and the thirty first of July, 1653. At a public entertainment given subsequently to a thanksgiving for the latter, Cromwell with his own hand placed a gold chain round the General's neck.

Being declared Protector however that same year, that Usurper concluded a peace on terms so favourable to the enemy that Monk, who lay with his fleet off the coast of Holland, remonstrated against their being carried into effect. Those remonstrances were so favourably entertained by 'Barebones' Parliament,' and Monk on his return was received by them with so much kindness, that Cromwell closeted him, to find whether he was inclined to any other interest. The result of their conference was so satisfactory, that upon the breaking out of fresh troubles in the north of Scotland, where the Marquis of Athol, the Earl of Glencairn, and several others had raised forces on behalf of Charles II., he sent him thither Commander in Chief, in April 1654.

Arriving at Leith, Monk despatched Colonel Morgan with a large detachment against the Royalists: and after proclaiming the Protector at Edinburgh, fol-

lowed himself with the rest of the forces. By his prudent management, the war was brought to a conclusion in August: upon which he returned from the Highlands, and fixed his abode for the five ensuing years at Dalkeith, a seat belonging to the Countess of Buccleugh; amusing himself with the pleasures of a rural life, and exercising his authority not only as Commander in Chief, but also as one of the Council of State for Scotland. Its other members indeed, on account of his great popularity, paid such implicit obedience to his orders, that the Protector frequently conceived suspicions of his views. Nor was this distrust groundless. The King certainly entertained good hopes of him, as may be inferred from the following letter,* dated Collen, Aug. 12, 1655:

“ One, who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well, assures me that, notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the seasonable opportunity, which is as much

* Of this letter, says Barwick in his Life of his brother Dean Barwick, “ *Illustrissimus princeps Christophorus Dux Albemarie ostendere mihi literas dignatus est ad patrem suum in Scotiâ imperantem, quadriennio saltem ante regnum restitutum à Serenissimo Rege datas, et ipsâ regiâ manu exaratas, in quibus scribè monuit, ut vir Illustrissimus id unicè curaret, ne se Cromwelli artibus è Scotiâ divelli pateretur; cætera de ejus fide atque obsequio, quâ datâ opportunitate, præstando minimè dubius. Has ille literas inter lectissima *καρτάρι* reposuit. Scribenti tamen nihil rescripsisse visus est; omninò salius et in isto rerum discrimine omninò tutius existimans, heroico aliquo facinore quàm nudis et jejunis verbis exorire. Ex hac tamen altâ et perpetuâ luciturnitate dubia illa, de quibus suprà diximus, procul omni dubio ortum sortiebantur.*” (pp. 186, 187.)

as I look for from you. We must all wait patiently for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect: when it is, let it find you ready; and in the mean time have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture, and can never but suspect your affection to be, as I am confident it is, toward

Your very affectionate friend,

CHARLES, R."

Monk, however, made no scruple of discovering every step taken by the Cavaliers which came to his knowledge, even sending to the Protector this very letter, and promoting addresses to him from the army in Scotland. In 1657, he received a summons to the new House of Lords. From this period to Oliver's death, he maintained Scotland in subjection, simply occupied in carrying his instructions punctually into effect. In pursuance of this system, he proclaimed Richard Cromwell Protector, though he very probably foresaw that his power would have but a short duration; as in his judgement even the latter, had he lived much longer, would scarcely have been able to retain his high station. And indeed Cromwell himself had begun to suspect, not only the impending change, but also its great instrument, if we may judge from the postscript of a letter written by him to Monk a short time before his death:

"There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles

Stuart. I pray you, use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me."

As he was informed however, by Richard's direction, that the late Protector had expressly charged his successor to do nothing without his advice, Monk recommended to him to 'encourage a learned, pious, moderate, ministry in the church; to permit no Councils of Officers, a liberty too frequently abused by persons of that description; to call a parliament; and to endeavour to render himself master of the army.'

Richard Cromwell was acknowledged by all orders of men in the three kingdoms: he received above ninety Addresses* from the counties and considerable corporations of England; and the foreign ministers vied with each other in compliments, congratulating him upon his succession. But this was all mere statecraft, to gain time for the different parties to form their respective arrangements. The new Protector, of a different complexion from his father, would rather have lost ten kingdoms, than have won or maintained one by the sword. The army, long accustomed to a share in the government, dreaded a diminution of their power under a more pacific ruler; the republicans thought it a proper crisis to shake off the yoke of an authority, which they had found more oppressive than royalty itself; and a

* On leaving Whitehall, he gave strict orders to his servants to be 'very careful of the two old trunks standing in his wardrobe, in which those Addresses were contained; 'telling a friend, that they held 'no less than the Lives and Fortunes of all the good people of England!' Those addresses, several of which farther offered "all that was near and dear to them," he bequeathed to his friends. The practice of addressing, it may be remarked, commenced at his accession.

third party equally detesting the protectorship, the army, and republicanism, wished for the restoration of Charles II. With these jarring interests secretly at work, it is no wonder that Richard's first national assembly, consisting of a Lower and an Upper House, quarrelled on the subjects of superiority and privilege, or that they attempted to lessen the power of the army, by which they brought on their own dissolution. The Council of Officers assumed the supreme authority in May 1659, after they had compelled their Governor to dissolve the parliament; re-assembled the remnants of the Long Parliament; declared their intention of ruling without any Protector, or King, or House of Peers; and appointed a Committee of Safety, who ordered all writs and patents to run, as at the first establishment of the Republic, in the names of the 'Keepers of the Three Nations.' Richard, who saw his uncle Desborough and his brother Fleetwood engaged in this plan of government, and might perhaps have maintained his station by consigning them to the assassin's dagger, quietly gave in a list of his debts, and desired to live 'guiltless of his country's blood' in dutiful obedience to the Commonwealth.*

* The formal abdication of Richard, which eminently exhibits the contrast of his character with that of his father, is printed by Beloe in his 'Anecdotes of Literature' (II. 425—429) from a loose single sheet, in which mention is made of a schedule of his debts (apparently printed along with it) amounting, as appears from the Journals of the House of Commons, which however are frequently very faulty, to 29,640*l*. See Noble's Cromwell, I. 333. Not. VV.

"His Late Highness' LETTER to the PARLIAMENT of
ENGLAND,

"Showing his Willingness to submit to this Present Govern-

Monk, receiving advice of these transactions, readily consented to abandon one, whom he had so

ment : Attested under his own Hand, and read in the House on Wednesday the 25th of May, 1659.

“ I have perused the Resolve and Declaration, which you were pleased to deliver to me the other night ; and, for your information touching what is mentioned in the said Resolve, I have caused a true State of my Debts to be transcribed, and annexed to this paper, which will show what they are, and how they were contracted.

“ As to that part of the Resolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themselves how far I do acquiesce in the government of this Commonwealth, as it is declared by this Parliament ; I trust my past carriage hitherto hath manifested my acquiescence in the will and disposition of God, and that I love and value the peace of this Commonwealth much above my own concernment ; and I desire that by this a measure of my future deportment may be taken, which through the assistance of God shall be such as shall bear the same witness, having I hope in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God, than to be unquiet under it : and (as to the late *Providences*, that have fallen out among us) however in respect of the particular engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making or changing the government of these Nations, yet through the goodness of God I can freely acquiesce in it being made, and do hold myself obliged, as (with other men) I expect *Protection* from the present Government, so to demean myself with all peaceableness under it, and to procure to the uttermost of my power, that all in whom I have any interest do the same.

“ RICHARD CROMWELL.

“ Londo , Printed by *D. Maxwell*, 1659.”

Properly subjoined to the above paper, may be given the following Proclamation from Authority ; which, though stating facts very generally known, contains some particulars of names and expressions not usually given in our English histories. There are, also, some peculiarities of orthography.

“ By the King. A PROCLAMATION to summon the persons therein named, who sate, gave judgement, and assisted in that horrid and detestable Murder of His Majestie's Royal Father

lately proclaimed, and with his officers signed the engagement against Charles Stuart, or any other single

of blessed memory, to appear and render themselves within fourteen days, under pain of being excepted from Pardon.

“ CHARLES R.

“ CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects of England, Scotland and Ireland, Greeting. We taking notice by the information of our Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, of the most horrid and execrable Treason and Murder committed upon the Person, and against the Life, Crown, and Dignity of Our late Royal Father CHARLES the First, of blessed memory: And that John Lisle, William Say, Esquires, Sir Hardress Waller, Valentine Wauton, Edward Whalley, Esquires; Sir John Bouchier, Knight, William Heveningham, Esq; Isaac Pennington Alderman of London, Henry Martin, John Barkstead, Gilbert Millington, Edmund Ludlow, John Hutchinson, Esquires; Sir Michael Livesay, Baronet; Robert Tichborne, Owen Roe, Robert Lilburn, Adrian Scroope, John Okey, John Hewson, William Goffe, Cornelius Holland, John Carew, Miles Corbet, Henry Smith, Thomas Wogan, Edmund Harvey, Thomas Scot, William Cawley, John Downes, Nicholas Love, Vincent Potter, Augustine Garland, John Dixwell, George Fleetwood, Simon Meyne, James Temple, Peter Temple, Daniel Blagrove, and Thomas Wayte, Esquires, being deeply guilty of that most detestable and bloody Treason, in sitting upon, and giving Judgement against the Life of our Royal Father; and also John Cooke, who was employed therein as Solicitor, Andrew Broughton and John Phelps, who were employed under the said persons as clerks, and Edward Dendy, who attended them as Serjeant at Arms, have out of the sense of their own guilt lately fled and obscured themselves, whereby they cannot be apprehended and brought to a personal and legal trial for their said Treasons according to law. We do therefore by the advice of Our said Lords and Commons, command, publish, and declare by this Our Proclamation, That all and every the persons before-named shall within fourteen days next after the publishing of this Our Royal Proclamation, personally appear and render themselves

person, being admitted to the government. But when their Committee of Ten began, on the informa-

to the Speaker or Speakers of Our House of Peers and Commons, or unto the Lord Mayor of Our City of London, or to the Sheriffs of Our respective Counties of England and Wales, under pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity both for their respective Lives and Estates: And that no person or persons shall presume to harbour or conceal any the persons aforesaid, under pain of misprision of High Treason.

“Given at our Court at Whitehall the Sixth day of June 1660, in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

“LONDON, Printed by *John Bill* and *Christopher Barker*, Printers to the KING's Most Excellent Majesty, 1660.”

After the Restoration Richard, though he remained unmolested, thought proper, from fear rather of his creditors (as Lord Clarendon states) than of the King, to travel for some years: and at Pezenas in Languedoc, where he stopped on his way to Geneva, walking abroad to entertain himself with a view of the situation, he met with an old English partisan of his; who told him, that ‘it was customary in all strangers to wait upon the Prince of Conti, Governor of that province, and that as an Englishman he would be received with the greatest civility.’ During their interview the Prince, discoursing of the affairs of England, observed that ‘Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command; but that Richard, that coxcomb, coquin, poltroon, was surely the basest fellow alive! What (he inquired) is now become of that fool?’ The traveller calmly answered, ‘He was betrayed by those whom he most trusted, and who had been most obliged by his father.’ At Geneva he did not long continue; but left it for Paris, where in mean lodgings, and with only a single servart, he remained almost wholly till 1680; when, presuming upon the unpopularity of the court, he returned to his native country, and resided chiefly at Cheshunt under the name of Clark, never even glancing at his former station (we are told by Dr. Watts, who was frequently with him) except once, and that in a very distant manner:

The death of his only son without issue, by entitling him to a life-estate in the manor of Hursley, exposed him to some ungrateful treatment from his daughters; but this gave Chief

tions of Pierson and Mason (two republican Colonels in his army) to cashier the officers in whom he most confided, he addressed a letter to the House complaining of this treatment in so warm a stile, at the same time engaging himself so solemnly for the fidelity of his adherents, that they immediately ordered their agents to discontinue all farther proceedings.

In the mean time, he continued to profess the strongest attachment to the republican cause. In a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons from Edinburgh, dated October 20, 1659, he assured him, that 'he was resolved by the grace and assistance of God, as a true Englishman, to stand to and assert the liberty and authority of parliament. I do call God to witness (he added) that the asserting of a

Justice Holt a happy opportunity of showing respect for innocent and fallen greatness, when the matter was brought before the Court of King's Bench, by ordering him a chair, and insisting, upon account of his very great age, that 'he should sit covered;' for which he, very honourably to herself, received the commendation of his Sovereign, Queen Anne. After having an order made in his favour, as he was retiring from Westminster Hall, he looked into the House of Lords; when a stranger questioning him, 'Whether he had ever seen any thing like it before?' "Never," he replied, pointing to the throne, "since I sat in that chair."

He died at 86, having enjoyed so good a state of health to the last, that at fourscore he used to gallop his horse after the harriers, which he kept till his death, for several miles together: and his latest words to his daughter were, "Live in love; I am going to the God of love." His social virtues, more valuable (as Hume justly observes) than the greatest capacity, met with a recompence, more precious than noisy fame and more suitable, contentment and tranquillity. How much happier must his dying reflexions have been, than if he had caused to be assassinated the three or four principal officers of the army, whose removal would probably have secured to him the continued possession of his father's bloody sceptre!

Commonwealth is the only intent of my heart, and I desire, if possible, to avoid the shedding of blood; and desire and entreat you that there may be a good understanding between parliament and army : but, if they will not obey your commands, I will not desert you, according to my duty and promise.' And, in a letter of the same date to Fleetwood, he ' takes God to witness, that he had no farther ends than the establishing of parliamentary authority, and those good laws that our ancestors have purchased with so much blood, the settling the nations in a free Commonwealth, and the defence of godliness and godly men though of different judgements.'

In a discourse likewise, which was afterward read by his direction at Whitehall to the members who had been excluded from parliament, but were then permitted through his means to take their seats, he expressed himself very strongly in behalf of a Commonwealth : " I thought (says he) to assure you, and that in the presence of God, that I have nothing before my eyes but God's glory, and the settlement of these nations upon Commonwealth foundations. In pursuit whereof, I shall think nothing too dear ; and for my own particular, I shall throw myself down at your feet, to be any thing or nothing, in order to these great ends. As to the way of future settlement, far be it from me to impose any thing : I desire you may be in perfect freedom. Only give me leave to mind you, that the old foundations are by God's providence so broken, that in the eye of reason they cannot be restored but upon the ruin of the people of these nations, that have engaged for their rights in the defence of the parliament, and the great and main ends of the Covenant for uniting and making the Lord's name one in

the three nations ; and, also, the liberty of the people's representatives in parliament will be certainly lost. For if the people find that, after so long and bloody a war against the King for breaking in upon their liberties, yet at last he must be taken in again ; it will be out of question, and is most manifest, he may for the future govern by his will, dispose of parliaments and parliament-men as he pleaseth, and yet the people will never more rise for their assistance. As for the interests of this famous city (which hath been in all ages the bulwark of parliaments, and unto whom I am, for their great affection, so deeply engaged) certainly it must lie in a Commonwealth ; that government only being capable to make them, through the Lord's blessing, the metropolis and bank of trade for all Christendom, whereunto God and nature hath fitted them above all others."

Notwithstanding these declarations, however, he was not only a principal instrument in the restoration of Charles II., but also in restoring him without any conditions.* Thus, says Dr. Harris, was

* From a MS. collection made by Sir Thomas Browne, it appears that " Monk gave fair promises to the Rump, but at last agreed with the French Ambassador to take the government on himself : by whom he had a promise, from Mazarin, of assistance from France. This bargain was struck late at night : yet not so secretly but that Monk's wife, who had posted herself conveniently behind the hangings, finding what was resolved upon, sent her brother Clarges away immediately with notice of it to Sir A. A. She had promised to ' watch her husband, and inform Sir A. how matters went.' Sir A. caused the Council of State, whereof he was a member, to be summoned, and charged Monk that ' he was playing false.' The General insisted, that ' he was true to his principles, and firm to what he had promised, and that he was ready to give them all satisfaction.' Sir A. told him that, ' if he were sincere he might remove all scruples, and should

an exiled Prince by the dissimulation, treachery, and falsehood of Monk admitted to the government of three flourishing and renowned kingdoms without conditions, contrary to the sense and expectations of the most intelligent persons of all parties. For who could have imagined that a people, who had so long and successfully struggled for their liberties, would in one hour without striking a blow submit to the vanquished, and tamely yield to the yoke of those whom they knew to be their determined foes! Who could have thought that an English parliament, a name which had recently obtained so much renown, should by a single vote deliver up themselves, and all that was dear to them, into the hands of one, from whom they had reason to expect not over-kind treatment! But patriotism no longer actuated the breasts of the English senators; every thing was unminded except personal safety, or personal rewards, which were judged best obtained by thus making early court to the King in a matter most acceptable to him.

Those panegyrists indeed, observes Chalmers, who support the idea of his continued loyalty of principle even while serving the opposite cause, do not doubt that the restoration of Charles II. was meditated by him from the time of Cromwell's death;

instantly take away such and such men in his army and appoint others, and t'at before he left the room.' Monk consented: a great part of the commissions of his officers were changed, and Sir Edward Harley, a member of the Council and then present, was made Governor of Dunkirk in the room of Sir William Lockhart. The army ceased to be at Monk's devotion; the Ambassador was recalled, and broke his heart." So much for the virtuous principle of the prime agent of the Restoration! And wherein, as to principle, do great revolutionists usually differ!

and the republican Ludlow accuses him of an early correspondence with the royal party. But whatever were his private views, the closest politician could not have veiled them more effectually. His relation Sir John Greenville sent his brother, Sir Nicholas Monk, to him in Scotland, with a letter from the King soliciting his support: but though he received the messenger with due kindness, he sent him back without any confidential communication upon the subject. Lambert his principal rival, who at this period possessed the chief influence in the English army, by direction of the Committee of Safety (now at the head of the government) marched northward with the view of overawing Monk's measures. The latter, in order to gain time, despatched commissioners to London to treat of an accommodation. In the mean while, the parliament resumed it's authority, and the military chieftains were deserted by their troops. Lambert was arrested, and thrown into prison; and nothing remained to oppose Monk's advance southward, which he commenced in January 1660.

As he proceeded, he received addresses on all sides, requesting his intervention in settling a legal and equitable government. Upon his approach to London he sent a message to the parliament, desiring them to 'remove from the capital those regiments, which had been concerned in the late violences.' This, though not without some resistance on the part of the soldiers, was effected, and Monk peaceably took up his quarters in Westminster: still however affecting an entire obedience to the senate, and even conformably to their command entering London in military array and seizing several obnoxious persons. But soon afterward he complained of the odious ser-

vice they forced upon him, and peremptorily required the House to issue writs for the assembling of a new and free parliament. The rejoicings, generally celebrated upon this occasion, sufficiently proved the odium, which the Rump had incurred.

Every thing, now, manifestly tended to the restoration of monarchy; though Monk, with impenetrable hypocrisy, still maintained the appearance of an attachment to republican principles, and steadfastly declined all communication with the exiled Charles. At length however he ventured, through the medium of Sir John Greenville, to send him a verbal message consisting of assurances of his fidelity, and some advice for his immediate behaviour. Upon these suggestions the King removed to Breda, and arrangements were concerted for his prompt restoration, when the escape of Lambert from prison, and the junction of some of his old military followers, gave a temporary interruption to the project. But he was speedily retaken, his party was suppressed, and on May 8, 1660, Monk assisted at the solemn proclamation of Charles II. in the capital. Upon the King's landing at Dover, the General was received by the royal party with all the distinction due to one, who had been so principally instrumental in the great event. It was of course no drawback upon the cordiality of his reception, that he had strenuously protested against all limitation of the monarchical power, and insisted that the restoration should be unconditional.

"The short interval," says Mr. Fox, "between Cromwell's death and the Restoration, exhibits the picture of a nation either so wearied with changes as not to feel, or so subdued by military power as not to dare to show, any care or even preference with regard

to the form of their government. All was in the army ; and that army, by such a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances as history teaches us not to be surprised at, had fallen into the hands of one, than whom a baser could not be found in it's lowest ranks. Personal courage appears to have been Monk's only virtue : reserve and dissimulation made up the whole stock of his wisdom. But to this man did the nation look up, ready to receive from his orders the form of government he should choose to prescribe. There is reason to believe that, from the general bias of the Presbyterians as well as of the Cavaliers, monarchy was the prevalent wish ; but it is observable that, although the parliament was, contrary to the principle upon which it was pretended to be called, composed of many avowed royalists, yet none dared to hint at the restoration of the King till they had Monk's permission, or rather command, to receive and consider his letters. It is impossible, in reviewing the whole of this transaction, not to remark that a General who had gained his rank, reputation, and station in the service of a Republic, and of what he, as well as others, called (however falsely) ' the cause of liberty,' made no scruple to lay the nation prostrate at the feet of a Monarch, without a single provision in favour of that cause : and if the promise of indemnity may seem to argue, that there was some attention at least paid to the safety of his associates in arms, his subsequent conduct gives reason to suppose, that even this provision was owing to any other cause, rather than to any generous feeling of his heart. For he afterward not only acquiesced in the insults so meanly put upon the illustrious corpse of Blake, under whose auspices and command he had

performed the most creditable services of his life ; but, in the trial of Argyle, produced letters of friendship and confidence to take away the life of a nobleman, the zeal and cordiality of whose co-operation with him, proved by such documents, was the chief ground of his execution : thus gratuitously surpassing in infamy those miserable wretches who, to save their own lives, are sometimes persuaded to impeach and swear away the lives of their accomplices.” *

His rewards speedily followed ; rewards, as ample as a subject could expect. He was created a Knight of the Garter, sworn a member of the Privy Council, made Master of the Horse, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, First Commissioner of the Treasury, and finally (beside several inferior titles) Duke of Albemarle,† with a grant of 7000*l.* *per ann.*, and various other pensions. The Lord Lieutenancy of Devonshire and Middlesex, and of the Borough of Southwark, were soon afterward added to his honours. These dignities he wore with discretion ; never betraying any symptom of the over-valuation of services, so frequent among those, who have had the rare fortune of laying their Sovereigns under obligation.

In the October following, the Duke was named in the commission for trying the regicides, in the discharge of which he observed, in general, signal moderation. When the disbanding of the army was voted.

* This character appears far more correctly deduced from the events, which Monk influenced, than the more favourable portrait drawn by the hand of Hume.

† Upon this occasion, he received a very peculiar acknowledgement of regard, almost the whole body of the Commons attending him to the very door of the House of Lords.

he co-operated strenuously with the Lord Chancellor Hyde in favour of the measure; and took great pains, by the changing of officers and other arrangements, to insure it's success.

In January 1661, while the King was attending his mother and sister on their return to France, the Duke was employed in London in quelling an insurrection made by some Fifth Monarchy men, under one Venner a wine-cooper. This he with difficulty effected, after they had repulsed some detachments of the city-militia and the newly raised horse. The project however, to which these disturbances gave rise, of keeping up a standing force, was opposed by his Grace, who observed, that 'his endeavouring to continue any part of the army would be liable to much misrepresentation, and he would therefore by no means appear in it.'

Upon the breaking out of the first Dutch war in 1664, he was placed at the head of the Admiralty, and undertook likewise the charge of the metropolis during the plague, which about this time made it's appearance. Prince Rupert and himself, also, were appointed Joint Admirals for the ensuing year. To his lot chiefly fell the finishing of the new ships then on the stocks, with the repairing of the old ones, and the victualling and manning of the whole fleet. All this he so effectually accomplished, the seamen offering in crowds for the service, because 'honest George' * (as they commonly called him) they were

* And yet he appears to have been swayed principally by bribes, without any regard to the interests or engagements of his Sovereign, in his patronage of the claimants of office under the re-instated dynasty. Clarendon indeed informs us, that "Monk himself, out of a deference to the King, would have admitted

assured, would see them well fed and justly paid; that on April 23, 1666, the two Admirals were enabled to embark, and after some dreadful engagements, the first of which lasted from the first to the fifth of June, completely defeated the enemy; destroying above twenty of their men of war, and driving the rest into their harbours. In this engagement the Dutch lost four Admirals, and four thousand inferior officers and seamen. At the latter end of August, the English fleet returned to St. Helen's, and lay there for farther orders.

During that interval, broke out the terrible Fire of London; which beginning on the second of September, and continuing with unparalleled fury for three days, laid the greatest part of the city in ashes. Upon this unexpected accident, Albemarle was immediately sent for, to assist in quieting the minds of the people; who publicly exclaimed, as he passed through the ruined streets, "If his Grace had been there, the city would not have been burnt." The daring enterprise likewise of the Dutch in 1667, in sailing up the Thames and burning the ships at

to subordinate appointments some of those persons, who had actually received the royal promise; but that his wife, who even exceeded him in avarice, would hear of no consideration but money." This point Monk appears to have yielded to his wife with little reluctance; for the same noble historian assures us, that whatever other arguments might have been used, "profit was always the highest reason with him." Had he bestowed his patronage from more honourable motives, we have reason to suspect his discernment would not have led him to any very proper choice. It was, on one occasion, represented to him that a person, whom he had recommended for a Secretary of State, was not fit for that function: "Not fit!" replied Monk, "why he can speak French, and write short-hand!"

Chatham, called forth afresh his exertions, and exposed him to considerable danger.

The Earl of Southampton dying in the course of the same year, Monk was again placed by his Majesty at the head of the Treasury. This was the last testimony of the royal favour, which he received; for being now in the sixtieth year of his age, the many hardships which he had undergone began to shake his constitution, hitherto remarkably healthy, and he exhibited symptoms of a dropsy. He therefore withdrew from public business, as much as his post and the state of affairs would permit, and retired to his seat at New Hall in the county of Essex; where he was prevailed upon by the importunity of his friends to try a pill then in vogue, prepared by one Dr. Sermon of Bristol, who had formerly served under him as a common soldier. From this he at first received such relief, that toward the latter end of the year he returned to town: but quickly relapsing, he set about completing the marriage of his only son Christopher* with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Henry Earl of Ogle;† and having witnessed the performance of the nuptial ceremony December 30, 1669, died four days afterward in his chair with scarcely a groan.

He left behind him a very large property, accumulated by great frugality; and was buried with much funeral pomp in Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

“ There are few points,” observes Macdiarmid,

* Born to him from a woman of low extraction, who had lived with him as a mistress some years before their marriage.

† This nobleman was the only son of Charles, Duke of Newcastle.

“ in the English history, which have been more keenly controverted than the views and character of Monk. The friends of loyalty have been unwilling to allow that the man, who acted so meritorious a part in the restoration of the King, could be stained with any vices. It is, however, difficult to reconcile his conduct to any rules of morality. The successive transference of his allegiance from the King to Cromwell, from the son of Cromwell to the Rump Parliament, and again from the Rump Parliament to the King, can only be excused by those, who look upon interest as the standard of truth and honour. If, as some allege, he was in his heart always loyal to the King, and but waited an opportunity to serve him with effect; we only free him from the charge of unprincipled versatility, by subjecting him to the imputation of gross hypocrisy. No prospect of private or public good can excuse wilful and deliberate perjury. Clarendon is far from suspecting him of any disguised loyalty, or of acting upon any settled plan; but thinks, that he changed his views accordingly as his interest seemed to be affected by successive occurrences. During his march to London, the Chancellor had great distrust of his intentions; and feared, that the honours and emoluments showered on him by the parliament would work very far upon his ambitious and avaricious nature.’ Even in his ‘History of the Rebellion,’ after he had more minutely weighed the transactions of the General, he seems to have entertained similar opinions: that if the parliament had acted with proper discretion toward Monk, ‘they might have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to all their other counsels:’ and that ‘the disposition, which finally grew in him to-

ward the royal cause, did arise from divers accidents, which fell out in the course of affairs, and seemed even to oblige him to undertake that which in the end conduced so much to his greatness and glory.' It is certain that Monk could not, without extreme hazard, have then attempted to act the part of Cromwell; and that he could not expect to gratify his ambition or his avarice so fully by establishing a free republic, or a strictly limited monarchy, as by restoring the King without any conditions."

EDWARD HYDE,

EARL OF CLARENDON, LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR
OF ENGLAND.*

[1608—1674.]

THIS illustrious historian, whose family had possessed the estate of Norbury in Cheshire from the time of the Saxon monarchy, was the*third son of Henry Hyde, Esq. a gentleman of competent property, of Dinton near Hindon in Wiltshire. At this village he was born, in 1608.

Under the private tuition of the Vicar of Dinton he remained, till he was upward of thirteen: when with a view to the clerical profession he was sent to Magdalen Hall, Oxford. During his residence at that place, he was distinguished rather for his talents than for his improvement of them; and from some vices, particularly that of drinking in which he had been initiated, he afterward looked upon his leaving it as one of the most fortunate events of his life. In the year after his admission, he was chosen to fill the next vacancy of a demy place

* A TUTORIES. Whitlocke's *Memorials*, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors* 1708, Wood's *Athene Oxonienses*, Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, and Macdiarmid's *Lives of British Statesmen*.

at Magdalen College. But as a vacancy did not soon occur, and he was now become an only son, he removed thence, after taking the degree of B.A., to the Middle Temple, where he studied the law for several years under the direction of his uncle Nicholas Hyde, subsequently Chief Justice of the King's Bench; interrupted, however, in his application, partly by the ague and the small-pox which endangered his life, and partly by a continuance of his dissipated habits acquired at college, which were but too much confirmed by the society of the swarms of young officers, awaiting in London the Duke of Buckingham's setting off on his expeditions against the continent. Nor was his taste indeed, partial as it had always been to the polite literature of Greece and Rome, sufficiently under his control to relish the dryer studies of the English bar.

When the lawyers had resolved to express publicly their disapprobation of Prynne's *Histriomastix*,* Mr. Hyde and Mr. Whitlocke were chosen by the Temple as managers of a masque presented to their Majesties at Whitehall, by the gentlemen of the Inns of Court, in 1634.

He was still a student, when his uncle died: but this, instead of preventing him from continuing his labours, induced him to pursue them with greater steadiness and ardor. To recall (as he himself informs us) those wandering desires, which render the mind inconstant and irresolute, he resolved to enter into the married state: and notwithstanding a disappointment in his first passion, he was fortunate

* A Treatise against Plays and Masquer, levelled at Charles I. and his Queen.

enough about the age of twenty to conciliate the affection of a beautiful and nobly connected young lady, the daughter of Sir George Ayliffe; whom however, to his deep grief, he lost by the small-pox within six months. Such, indeed, was his dejection upon this event, that nothing but the authority of his father, to whom he ever paid implicit obedience, prevented him from seeking to divert or to indulge his melancholy by going abroad. But he found a happier consolation, after three years of widowhood, in the daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Master of Requests, by whom during an union of thirty six years he had a numerous progeny.

His success, upon his first appearance at the bar, greatly surpassed the expectation, which his contemporaries had founded upon his previous habits and studies. Instead of cultivating the acquaintance of those of his own profession, he had coveted and acquired the friendship of Jonson, and Selden, and Kenelm Digby, and Waller, and May, and Sheldon, and Morley, and Hales of Eton, and Chillingworth. But the friend, whom he regarded with the most tender attachment and the most unqualified admiration was Lord Falkland, pronounced by himself every where ‘the most accomplished gentleman, scholar, and statesman of his age.’ It was his maxim, indeed, always to be found in the most select society; and with a feeling not very unlike that of *Padaretus* he frequently affirmed, that ‘he never was so proud, or thought himself so good a man, as when he was the worst of the party.’

What chiefly, however, contributed to his success was, his introduction to the notice and patronage of Archbishop Laud. This arose from his having been

consulted by the London merchants, on the subject of the vexations which they had endured from the preceding Lord Treasurer Weston, and which they had applied to the Primate as a Commissioner of the Treasury to redress. The countenance of the minister did not fail to produce it's accustomed effects. He was treated, says Macdiarmid, by the Judges and the more eminent counsellors, with a consideration, to which no other lawyer of his years could pretend; and he quickly procured as much business as he desired. He might, at this time, have widely extended his practice: but he had resolved not to sacrifice to the lust of wealth those relaxations, without which life would to him have lost it's sweetest charm. Even so, however, he could give to friendship little more than his hours of dinner; the courts of law claiming his mornings, and the preparation for them his afternoons. From his evenings, from sleep, or from the vacations (for he never travelled the circuit) he stole the time given to his favourite Belles Lettres; and on quitting London, during two months of the summer, he indulged in cheerful hospitality at his seat in Wiltshire.

He was of a disposition, indeed, to enter completely into the enjoyments of social life. In the company of Lord Conway, and other noted epicures, he had acquired a full relish for the pleasures of the table; and as he discoursed learnedly upon them, he might have been suspected of excesses, in which he did not indulge. To his honour be it recorded, that by no improper compliances, or degrading flatteries, did he ever court the company of the great. He scorned to dissemble his opinions, even when he knew they

would prove unacceptable : and he chose to acquire rather reluctant respect by his honesty, than less creditable favour by his servility. He had the honourable courage to remonstrate with Laud himself, upon the apparent insolence and harshness of his carriage, which deeply aggravated the other causes of his unpopularity ; and it is scarcely less honourable to the Primate, that he thenceforward received his sincere reprover with increased kindness and familiarity.

Naturally proud, passionate, and disputatious, so well had Hyde subdued the infirmities of his temper by his sense and by the example of good company, that he became distinguished for his courtesy and his affability. Conscientiously zealous for both the doctrine and the worship of the Established Church, personally attached to his Sovereign, tenacious of his friendships, and of unblemished integrity—Such was his high and hopeful character, at the commencement of the civil wars.

In 1640, he was elected representative for Wotton Bassett.* In parliament, his abilities were soon discovered by the leading men of the House. Throughout the whole session, indeed, he showed himself an active patriot, solely intent upon the welfare of the nation : particularly in his first speech, he denounced the absurd and odious jurisdiction of the Marshal's Court, which had recently in a vexatious manner begun to take cognisance of disrespectful words against the higher orders, in the most severe and unqualified terms.

* He was chosen at the same time for Shaftesbury, but he made his election for the former borough.

It was with deep regret, that he perceived the intention of the court to break with this parliament; and he had almost procured a resolution favourable to the question of supplies, when the peremptory demand, made by Sir Harry Vane in the name of the King, of Twelve Subsidies threw every thing into confusion. He fruitlessly endeavoured, afterward, to prevail upon Laud to dissuade the dissolution.

In the Long Parliament assembled toward the close of the same year, in which he served for Salt-ash, he laid aside his gown in order to devote himself to public business: and by opposing alternately the encroachments of the Sovereign and the people, he soon obtained consideration with all moderate men; in spite of the suspicion, with which he was eyed by the demagogues of the day on account of his friendship with the Primate, and his known attachment to limited monarchy and protestant episcopacy. ‘The constitution (he himself says) he believed to be so equally poised, that if the least branch of the prerogative was torn off, the subject suffered by it; and he was as much troubled, when the crown exceeded it’s limits.’ With respect to religion, ‘he believed the Church of England to be the best framed for the encouragement of learning and piety, and the preservation of peace, of any church in the world; and the secularising of any of it’s revenues to be sacrilege.’

His political talents began now to be much noticed. He was appointed Chairman of several Committees, and acquired great credit not only by procuring the annihilation of the Marshal’s Court, but also as manager of a conference with the House of Lords, upon the tyrannical jurisdiction of a tribunal called ‘The Court of York;’ in which he did not

permit his regard for Strafford to prevent him from exposing in glowing colours the enormous oppressions practised in the northern counties, as well as by a learned speech against the Judges, who had given their opinions in support of the legality of levying Ship-Money.

The parliament had, at this time, invested themselves with exorbitant authority. Aware that their Monarch's concessions had been wrung from him by necessity, and fearing that he would take the first opportunity of reclaiming what he had relinquished with so much reluctance, they decreed themselves to be indissoluble except by their own consent; and the government was thus, by a total change of principle, become exclusively oligarchical. This induced Hyde, with Lord Falkland and other temperate men, to take the alarm. The former, more particularly, distinguished himself upon every occasion, as the champion of the Established Church;* and a short bill having been introduced for the purpose of taking away the Bishops' votes in parliament, and omitting their names in all commissions of the peace and other temporal appointments, he was extremely earnest for throwing it out; contending that, 'from the very origin of parliaments, Bishops had always been a part of them, and that without such participation there would be

* It was invariably his opinion, that 'the religious feud sprang out of the civil disturbances.' At the commencement of the Long Parliament, not an idea was entertained of touching the Church. Hostility to it was not avowed in either of the Houses, even after the commencement of the war. Nay, at the Treaty of Uxbridge, he represents the English Commissioners as zealous in the business of religion, principally with a view of gratifying their Scottish allies.

no representatives of the clergy, which would be a great injustice.'

Lord Falkland, who always sat next to him (a circumstance so much observed, that if they entered not together, every one left a place for him that was absent) upon this occasion, opposed his friend; to the great delight of several, who thence flattered themselves, that they might gradually work the former into a farther resistance to the measures of the court: but they found themselves mistaken.

As Chairman likewise, at a subsequent period, of the Committee appointed to consider of a still more hostile measure, the abolition of episcopacy, he continued to interpose so many delays and difficulties, that the House at length grew weary, and for a time abandoned the project. He did not always, however, thwart its violence with equal impunity. Having formally protested, contrary to the usage of that Assembly, against a remonstrance of theirs, which appeared to him unnecessary, he was for some days committed to the Tower. Upon this occasion, he received the personal thanks of the King in a private manner; and from him, through Lord Digby, Charles was furnished with a full answer to the proceeding of the Commons, which by his irregular protest he had vainly attempted to oppose. This was published under the title of 'The King's Answer with the Advice of his Council.'

Lord Falkland was now, to his surprise, nominated to the principal secretaryship of state; an office, which on his friend Hyde's representation he was induced to accept, under the apprehension of otherwise countenancing the opinion, that the court was too

profligate, or it's condition too desperate, to deserve the support of the virtuous and the wise. The Chancellorship of the Exchequer was given to Sir John Colepepper; and though Hyde declined the office of Solicitor General, upon the plea that the displacing of St. John, while it exasperated the Commons, would only throw suspicion over his own exertions, he was associated with his two friends in the entire management of the royal interests, the King pledging himself not to take any step relative to parliament, without their advice and approbation.

Faithless however even to his friends, he had hardly made the promise before he broke it, by issuing orders on the suggestion of Lord Digby, and through the impulse of the rash and violent Henrietta, to impeach Lord Kimbolton and five commoners of high-treason. This was followed by an ineffectual demand of their persons, and a still more absurd attempt the day following to seize them, by going himself to the House in person. According to his own expression, he found 'the birds flown:' and he retired from his abortive attempt, amidst indignant cries of "Privilege! Privilege!"

Grieved and dispirited by such irretrievable errors, Hyde assures us that 'both Falkland and himself continued their exertions in the royal cause solely from a sense of duty, and with a full persuasion that the result would be their common ruin.' His private interviews with his Sovereign however, for as yet he held no public office under him, and his nightly consultations with his two ministerial friends, could not long be concealed. It began to be suspected that he was the principal author of the de-

clarations issued in the name of the King; and it was to avoid a recommittal to the Tower, that he now repaired to the court at York, where he openly entered into his Majesty's service.

The promotion of Colepepper to the Mastership of the Rolls left vacant the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This was given to Hyde, who was at the same time knighted, and sworn of the Privy Council. He remained with his Majesty till March, 1644.

Being a gentleman of the robe, however, we hear little of him till the Treaty of Uxbridge in that year, at which he was one of the Royal Commissioners. Here he showed himself a strenuous assertor of the King's right to the militia, and vindicated his council from the imputed mismanagement of the Irish affairs.

The treaty being broken off, Sir Edward Hyde's office, for some time, was to attend the Prince of Wales in the west. After the battle of Naseby, Charles resolved to place his eldest son out of the reach of parliament by sending him abroad. The Queen had previously withdrawn herself to France, and was particularly anxious to have her son under her immediate control. The King weakly yielded to her entreaties. But the Prince's council, Capel and Hopton with Hyde and Colepepper, saw but too clearly the fatal consequences of such a measure. The Queen, they knew, was universally odious, from a suspicion that she had instilled into her children the principles of Popery; and little reliance could be placed upon the tortuous policy of the French court, under the direction of the subtle Mazarin. Though they procured, however,

a discretionary power to convey the Prince to Denmark or any other country, the intrigues of Henrietta were finally successful. Upon the decline of the royal cause, Hyde embarked with his charge for the Scilly Isles, and thence proceeded with him to Jersey. There the royal youth was immediately assailed by the commands of his mother to repair to Paris; and after a little hesitation, even then accessible to the invitations of a voluptuous capital, the future Charles II. at the age of fifteen left his more respectable guardians, attended only by Lord Colepepper, who had been won over to the views of the Queen. Hyde himself remained in the island two years and a half, and occupied his leisure in composing a considerable part of his ‘History of the Rebellion.’ In the castle, which he occupied, he built a suite of apartments for his own use, inscribing over the entrance, *Bene qui latuit, bene vivit*; and though placed at a distance from his wife, children, and friends, he assures us he ever afterward recalled with delight that interval of peaceful tranquillity. At this time, likewise, he wrote a ‘Seasonable Answer to a Declaration of the Parliament.’ After a vain experiment upon the loyalty of the Scots and the army, Charles in his attempt to escape from his own dominions had been taken prisoner, and confined in the Isle of Wight. As he had rejected the propositions, however, made by the parliament, it was decreed, that ‘no more addresses should be sent to him:’ and a declaration was annexed, in which the Commons charged him with being the exclusive cause of all the public calamities. This drew from his Chancellor of the Exchequer a vigorous reply, to the high satisfaction of the King, who expressed himself greatly surprised

at the profound skill in theology evinced by it's author.

In May, 1648, he received a letter from the Queen, requiring him, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, to give his personal attendance at Paris on a certain day. But before the letter reached his hand, the time was expired; and, on his arrival with Lord Cottington at Rouen, he found the Prince had set off for Flanders. At Dunkirk he learned, that he was on board a fleet commanded by Prince Rupert, which had sailed for the Thames. They, at length, joined him at the Hague. Here he observed, within the precincts of an impoverished and contracted court, uncontrolled by indigence and unsoftened by adversity, every species of intrigue and malignity. Notwithstanding even the consternation occasioned by the news of the King's death, within a few weeks personal feuds and animosities broke out afresh with increased virulence. "I find," exclaims Hyde on the occasion, "that no desolation upon the public, no lowness of the court, will lessen our particular ambitions or private designs." Amidst a society so corrupted, Hyde could not long prove an acceptable inmate. From his attachment to the Church of England and to moderate measures, his counsels were frequently opposed to those of the Queen; and her adherents, in consequence, pursued him with peculiar rancour. The court of France, with illiberal precaution, had provided for the youthful Prince merely by increasing the allowance of his mother, in order that she might retain him wholly in her power: and this influence she injudiciously sought to confirm by a degree of parsimony in her bounty, which not unnaturally produced a totally opposite effect. All this,

however, she perversely ascribed to the hostile influence of Hyde.

The United States becoming daily more friendly to the parliamentary government in England, the removal of Charles II. from their territories was now rendered indispensable. To pass into France, an object for the calumnies of an irritated and implacable woman, and the insults of her mean dependents, was to Hyde a gloomy alternative. He willingly therefore co-operated with Lord Cottington, in November 1649, in procuring themselves to be sent Joint Embassadors to the Spanish Court, to solicit succours. Received however at Madrid with coldness and disrespect, and after much importunity admitted to a formal audience and amused with general professions of friendship, it was not till the arrival of Prince Rupert and a royal fleet on the Spanish coast, that they could detect any indications of kindness or cordiality. With Rupert, whom the appearance of a superior fleet displaced, these indications vanished. The accounts, that 'the Scots had declared for Charles, and placed him at the head of a powerful army,' renewed the smile on the faithless cheek of Spain: subsequent accounts of the irretrievable defeat of the Prince recalled, not again to be removed, the politic frown. They now, though the season was unfavourable for travelling, about the end of January 1641, received a peremptory order to quit that capricious realm. To this inhospitality the Spanish Monarch was additionally impelled by the consideration, that he could not introduce into his palace the pictures and rich furniture, which his Envoy in London had purchased at the sale of the late King's property, before the very eyes of his son's representa-

tives without the grossest indecorum. Lord Cottington however, at the age of seventy-six, having formerly spent much time in Spain and embraced the Catholic doctrines, was permitted to rest from his wanderings in the privacy of Valladolid. Hyde returned to Paris, where he found the little English court dissatisfied and disunited. Charles gave him an account of his rash enterprises in Great Britain, which the Chancellor had strenuously dissuaded, and of his own taking of the Covenant, the price of Scottish assistance, which he denounced as impious. "But it is now to no purpose," he adds, "to talk more of that sad argument, which can be justified by no human reason, let the success be what it will: we must only rely upon God Almighty, who will in the end bring light out of this darkness; and I am confident they who shall, in spite of all evil examples, continue honest and steady to their good principles, what distresses soever they may for a time suffer, will in the end find happiness even in this world, and that all your infamous compliers will be exposed to the infamy they deserve."

The royal followers were almost equally divided between the Presbyterian and the Popish faction; and, of course, as a steadfast friend to the moderation and orthodoxy of the English Church, Hyde was equally disliked by both. It was even reported, that he had been in England, and entered into an intrigue with Cromwell! Harassed by incessant calumnies, often tormented by the gout, and oppressed by the unremitting claims of business, often did he look back with regret to the studious seclusion of Jersey. "I am persuaded," he says, "if I might be quiet and left to my books, I should outlive this storm;

whereas this condition I am in breaks my mind and wastes my spirits so much, that I cannot hold out long."

Hated however, as he was, by the Queen Mother, and petitioned against with equal acrimony by both the above-mentioned classes of religionists, he still enjoyed, in return for his disinterested zeal and his indefatigable exertions, the unlimited confidence of his exiled Sovereign. The martyr of his pleasures, or the victim of his indolence, Charles would never write a letter except upon a Friday; and then only, if he happened to be free from other engagements: * so that to him, more particularly, a minister of fidelity and industry was invaluable. He even endured his remonstrances, as the price of his exemption from labour!

At this time, the poverty of the court was most deplorable. Unassisted by the Princes of the continent, plundered by the agents through whom his scanty supplies were transmitted, and "senselessly and ridiculously" represented to be in debt to his knavish cousin Rupert, who had however captured some very rich prizes from the West India trade of England, Charles was little able to pay the services of his attendants. Hyde himself assures us that, in mid-winter, 'he had neither clothes nor fire to preserve him from the severity of the season;' that 'he wanted both shoes and shirts;' and 'that the Marquis of Ormond was in no better condition.' They owed

* "I fear," says the Marquis of Ormond, "his immoderate delight in empty and vulgar conversations is become an irresistible part of his nature; and will never suffer him to animate his own designs, or the actions of others, with that spirit which is requisite to his quality, and still more to his fortune."

for all the meat, which they had eaten (at an obscure chop-house) for three months, to a poor woman, who was no longer able to trust; and "my poor family at Antwerp," he adds, "which breaks my heart, is in as sad a state as I am; and the King as either of us."

Notwithstanding this severe pressure of indigence, however, this upright man continued to maintain the same erect aspect; and while some of his Majesty's followers were with their religion renouncing their country, and others in greater number were making their peace with the existing government and returning to it, he regarded both these measures as what in himself, with his feelings and convictions, would have been both degrading and dishonest. His wife, with a magnanimity worthy of her consort, was supporting herself and her family at Antwerp with the most rigid economy; and from her "miraculous courage," he declares, he derived "unspeakable comfort."

At length, the English Prince discovered that he must no longer expect an asylum either from the generosity, or the consanguinity, of the French court. "The cheats and the villainy of that nation," observes his indignant minister, "are so gross, that I cannot think of it with patience; nor will the King ever prosper till he abhors them perfectly, and trusts none who trust them." Even in the early part of Charles' troubles, they had meditated wresting from him the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, as the price of their mercenary hospitality. That hope extinguished by the ascendancy of Cromwell,* Mazarin

* To remove this insurmountable obstacle, even Hyde (with regret must it be recorded) patronised the projects of the assassin. From him Captain Titus, and others of that description,

under the stipulations of an alliance with England compelled the royal exile and his few adherents to seek a new abode.

Finding that he could now no longer be of any service by continuing his personal attendance, Hyde retired to Antwerp. By the kindness of the Princess of Orange, the eldest sister of Charles II., who offered him a house rent-free at Breda, he was induced to remove to that city: and here it was with some difficulty, and only under a conviction that "the matter had some marks of Divine Providence in it," that he was induced to permit his eldest daughter to become one of that Princess' Maids of Honour.

His Majesty in 1657, upon the death of Herbert, made him Lord Chancellor; having first employed his friend, the Marquis of Ormond, to dispose him to receive the appointment. As Sir Edward however assigned many reasons, why there was no need of such an officer, till the King (then at Bruges) should return to England, his Majesty went himself to his lodgings, and observed 'this very consideration was what principally disposed him to confer the appointment upon him;' at the same time producing letters which he had received from Paris, for the grant of several English reversions of lands and offices, 'from which (he said) he could only free himself by putting the seal into hands, that would not be importuned.' The Earl of Bristol, likewise, and Secretary Nicholas adding their persuasions, he submitted at length to the King's pleasure.

received encouragement. At the same time, even in his most desperate fortunes, he ever regarded the plan of re-establishing Charles II. by dint of foreign arms as unwarrantable.

The chief administration of affairs being now, in a great degree, placed in his hands, and the death of the Protector with the various consequent revolutions in England having revived his hopes of effecting the restoration of his royal master, he drew up many declarations on the subject: and in return for his exertions, when that event was happily accomplished,* beside the office of Chancellor was entrusted with the management of the principal part of the public business.† In 1660, Hyde was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and created

* To Hyde chiefly, from his just dread of the Presbyterian discipline, to which he thought it not improbable that stipulation might be favourable, must be referred the unrestricted restoration of the King. He therefore pressed, that 'all should be settled upon the old foundation,' and the Sovereign unconditionally regained his inheritance. He knew indeed, assuredly, that one result of stipulation would be, his own exclusion from the royal councils.

† In this arduous situation, he displayed his accustomed acuteness and integrity. He honourably rejected a proposal for raising a considerable permanent revenue, which would have made the King independent of his parliament: he promptly proceeded to disband the army; and he checked and moderated the vindictive thirst of the royalists for plunder and blood. His honours, naturally, rose with his power. The first years of this reign, under the administration of Southampton and Clarendon, form by far the least exceptionable part of it; and even in this period the executions of Argyle and Vane, and the whole conduct of the government with respect to church-matters, both in England and in Scotland, were gross instances of tyranny. With respect to the execution of those who were accused of having been more immediately concerned in the King's death, that of Scrope, who had come in upon the Proclamation, and of the military officers who had attended the trial, was a violation of every principle of law and justice. But the fate of the others, though highly dishonourable to Monk, whose whole power had arisen from his zeal in their service, and their remunerating favour and confidence (and

a Peer of the Realm by the title of Baron Hyde in Wiltshire; and, in 1661, received the farther dignity of Viscount Cornbury, and Earl of Clarendon. He, also, received some grants from the crown, which rendered his income adequate to his dignity. More than such attentions, as could not decently be withheld, were little by him to be expected. A new man, of unyielding strictness of morals and principles, could not hope to be popular, or even 'safe in that court.'

From the thoughtless disposition likewise of his Sovereign, who had been prodigal of promises to his friends during his exile, the situation of the Chancellor was extremely undesirable. In vain he represented to them the sacredness of a royal Act of Oblivion and Indemnity, and told them, 'as it was the making of

not perhaps very creditable to the nation, of which many applauded, more had supported, and almost all had acquiesced in the act) is not certainly to be imputed as a crime to the King, or to those of his advisers who were of the Cavalier party. The passion of revenge, though condemned both by philosophy and religion, yet when it is excited by injurious treatment of persons justly dear to us, is perhaps among the most excusable of human frailties; and if Charles, in his general conduct, had shown stronger feelings of gratitude for services performed to his father, his character in the eyes of many would be rather raised than lowered by this example of severity against the regicides.

Clarendon is said to have been privy to the King's receiving money from Lewis XIV.; but what proofs exist of this charge (a heavy charge it is) I know not. Southampton was one of the very few of the royalist party, who preserved any just regard for the liberties of the people: and the disgust, which a person possessed of such sentiments must unavoidably feel, is said to have determined him to quit the King's service, and to retire altogether from public affairs. Whether he would have acted upon this determination, his death, which happened in the year 1667, prevents us now from ascertaining.

promises which had brought the King home, so it must be the keeping of them which must keep him at home:’ they sarcastically retorted, that ‘the objects of his fulfilment were not the same; for that ‘the oblivion was confined to his friends, and the indemnity to his enemies.’ There are some instances, however, in which (as Macdiarmid justly remarks) Clarendon was willing to wield the rod of power with too high a hand. The excessive dissipation, into which the court speedily fell, became the general theme of public conversation; and in the taverns and coffee-houses, to which in that licentious period persons of both sexes daily crowded, the example of the King and courtiers was usually urged as an apology for the grossest debaucheries. Charles could not endure, that his royal vices should be the current topic of discourse in the mouths of the multitude; and, therefore, applied to his Chancellor to devise some remedy for this growing evil. Clarendon agreed with him, that ‘it ought to be repressed;’ and instead of assuring him, that the reformation of his conduct was the only effectual means of stopping the evil tongues of men, complaisantly proposed two expedients for subduing the mischief: “either by a proclamation to forbid all persons to resort to those houses, and so totally to suppress them; or to employ spies who, being present in the conversation, might be ready to accuse such as had talked with most licence upon any subject that would bear complaint.” The King was much pleased with both expedients; but, on being debated in the Privy Council, this system of general espionage was abandoned, on the ground that it would diminish the revenue arising from coffee!

But the system pursued by the new Chancellor in regulating the judicial administration, deserves the highest praise. He showed his love for civil liberty, by making no attempts to revive the Courts of the Star Chamber and the High Commission, which had been, however unjustly, regarded as main props of the sovereign power, and which the complaisant parliament would probably not have scrupled to re-establish. He filled every judicial department with men of ascertained loyalty, morality, and talents. Some learned and incorruptible Judges, who had sat on the bench in the time of Cromwell, were again exalted to the same situation; and, among these, the name of Sir Matthew Hale has obtained eminent celebrity. We readily enter into the triumph, which Clarendon expresses at having restored to the nation the blessings of a regular judicature. "Denied it cannot be," says he, "that there appeared, sooner than was thought possible, a general settlement in the civil justice of the kingdom: no man complained without remedy; and every man dwelt again under the shadow of his own vine, without any complaint of injustice and oppression." Of the diligence and integrity, which he wished to diffuse among the guardians of the law, he set an illustrious example in his own judicial conduct; and it is allowed by all, that the office of Lord Chancellor was never more uprightly administered.

It would betray the writer beyond the limits assigned to this scanty biography, to enter into a discussion of the measures which he introduced, or patronised for the conversion of non-conformists. But to say nothing of the tyrannical rigour of a measure,

which by attempting to impose upon the clergy an oath, that 'in their judgement no oppression or cruelty on the part of the Sovereign could justify his subjects in taking arms against his authority,' expelled two thousand conscientious ministers from their benefices by a species of second massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662; what can be pronounced of the ignorance of ecclesiastical history, which it betrayed? When has persecution, short of extermination, made real or respectable converts to any faith? In this, as well as by a statute against conventicles, and a third which is usually called the 'Five-mile Act,' he was strenuously opposed by his friend the virtuous Earl of Southampton, Lord High Treasurer, and by the excellent Earle Bishop of Salisbury. Yet all this, however injudicious and unsuccessful, was free from selfish motives. Though his fortune, originally inconsiderable, had suffered greatly in the last commotions, with the utmost difficulty could he be prevailed upon to accept any grants for its reparation. He refused the name of Prime Minister, as invidious, being then recognised only in the arbitrary government of France; and from his personal attachment to his Sovereign he consented to endure the ungracious office of repelling the importunity of suitors, as well as the still more odious task of justifying their appointments, even where through royal partiality improperly bestowed. This uncommon devotion the Monarch, for some time, repaid with the most courteous attentions;* and occasionally, when Clarendon was

* What must he have thought of Charles' principles, when upon communicating to him the insulting offer made to himself by the French Court of a yearly pension, he was told by his Majesty with a laugh, that he was a fool?

afflicted with the gout, summoned his Privy Council to meet him even in the minister's bed-chamber at Worcester House.

But he speedily had cause to reflect upon the precariousness of Princes' favours. His daughter, during her residence at the Hague, had attracted the notice and affection of the Duke of York, afterward James II., who having fruitlessly made her dishonourable proposals, united her to himself by a private marriage. After the Restoration, the lady being with child insisted upon the Duke's avowing the marriage, affirming, "that she would have it known that she was his wife, let him use her ever so ill for it;" upon which, the Duke communicated the whole affair to his royal brother. Her father, upon the first intimation of the affair, displayed such vehemence of resentment (devoting his daughter even to death, as the only adequate punishment for her presumption) that his friends thought him unnaturally severe, while his enemies insinuated that he over-acted his part as a political dissenter. The latter opinion ultimately prevailed, when his concurrence followed closely upon that of the King;*

* The Queen Dowager, who had hastened from France to prevent her second son from acknowledging this unequal marriage, and upon her failure was meditating to bid an eternal farewell to the English Court, was compelled by Mazarin to suppress these exhibitions of her resentment. It was convenient to the French minister to cultivate the good will of every successive government of England: and from that period, keenly observes Clarendon, this vindictive woman never showed any "want of kindness toward him, whilst he stood in no need of it, nor until it might have done him good." It was upon this event that he received his barony, and an unsolicited grant of 20,000*l.* from Charles II. He subsequently irritated the Duke

and the malice of his adversaries suggested the idea of a strange accusation against him, in consequence of this family-alliance with the crown. It was said, that ‘ he had contrived the King’s marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, for the purpose of securing the succession to the issue of his daughter the Duchess of York :’ as it had been declared by the Spanish Ambassador and the Earl of Bristol,* previously to the consummation of the match, that ‘ the intended Queen could have no children ;’ a declaration, verified by her subsequent barrenness. The imputation, however, against Lord Clarendon

of York, by refusing the Garter ; and it was only upon his repeated expostulations, that he was at length induced to accept an Earldom.

* This nobleman, once known as the patriotic Lord Digby, on account of his peculiar talent was employed by the court of Spain to inflame the fancy of the English monarch by luxuriant descriptions of the beauties of Italy, in which country they wished him to select his wife. For a time, he had some hopes of success : but Clarendon and honour prevailed ; and on the arrival of his Portuguese bride, he found no reason for dissatisfaction. Her feelings were soon, however, to be insulted by her husband’s introducing to her his mistress (Mrs. Palmer, afterward Duchess of Cleveland) in full court : she fainted away. In vain his virtuous minister represented to him, that ‘ no enemy he had could advise him a more sure way to lose the hearts and affections of the people, than the indulging himself in such licentiousness :’ in vain he disdained to countenance the titled courtesan by the slightest attention, and even refused to affix the Great Seal to any grant, in which she was concerned, in consequence of which they were transmitted to Ireland for the sanction of a more accommodating Chancellor : in vain Lord Southampton closed the treasury-books against the taint of her name. Charles only felt the burthen of servants whose morality reproached him so forcibly, as intolerably heavy, and with his profligate mistress began to concert their downfall.

was groundless; as it was well known, that the great inducement to the marriage in question was the dowry, which beside a payment of 500,000*l.* and the cession of Tangier and Bombay, included a commercial treaty with Portugal highly beneficial to the English merchants.

The first open attack made upon the Chancellor was by the Earl of Bristol, who in 1663 exhibited articles of high-treason against him in the House of Lords. But the charge, teeming with inconsistency, could not capitally affect it's object; though several of it's particulars gave his enemies an opportunity of still farther lessening him in the royal esteem. From this time, indeed, intrigues were carried on against him by the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Henry Bennet (afterward Earl of Arlington*) and Colonel Titus: and the discontents of the palace uniting with the clamors of the people, in August 1667 he was removed from all his employments. Upon this, the Commons immediately drew up articles against him; and Mr. Seymour, in their name, impeached him at the bar of the House of Lords, of treason and other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Thus was his disgrace accomplished, after he had enjoyed his Sovereign's confidence, and discharged a most arduous and honourable function, for upward of seven years. During that period, he had rendered himself extremely unpopular by his aversion to declaring war against the Dutch, † whose successful traffic with the

* Who, by paying court to the Duchess of Cleveland and the Club of Wits, had been appointed Secretary of State in the room of Nicholas.

† And yet for the unfortunate result of this war, in which the enemy burnt our ships in their very harbours, and insulted the

East and West Indies had excited the cupidity of the English merchants, while his princely son-in-law panted for naval glory, and his Sovereign for rich prizes and large supplies; his having advised, or at least concurred in, the sale of Dunkirk; his erecting a superb palace* in a time of war, and in the year of the great plague; the disrespect, with which he affected to treat the House of Commons, and his manifest contempt of their privileges; and his opposition to the bill for liberty of conscience.

A great number of satirical pieces were published, both before and after his dismissal; among the rest, a song entitled '*Clarendon's House-Warming*,' consisting of many stanzas, and closing with the following epigram:

Here lie the sacred bones
Of Paul, beguiled of his stones;
Here lie the golden bribes
Of many ruined families:

whole of our southern shore, the Chancellor was heavily censured; though with ludicrous *naïveté* he affirms that, from his total want of skill in regard to the coast and river, he 'knew not where Sheerness was, nor had ever heard of the name of such a place till the late events, nor had ever been upon any part of the river with any other thought about him than to get on shore as soon as might be possible.'

* In this edifice, likewise, he made use of some stones originally bought for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral; a circumstance, of itself sufficient to exasperate the superstitious: and it's cost, which by the unskillfulness or fraud of the architect had amounted to 50,000*l.* (more than triple the original estimate) as inconsistent with his slender fortune, received the nicknames of '*Dunkirk House*' or '*Holland Hall*,' as the lampooner chose to ascribe it's erection to the operation of French or of Dutch gold.

Here lies the cavalier's debenture-wall,
 Fixed on an eccentric basis :
 Here's Dunkirk Town and Tangier Hall,
 The Queen's marriage and all,
 The Dutchman's *Templum Pacis*.

The people, however, it must be confessed, were not a little ungrateful ; as he had certainly curbed the prerogative of the crown, and prevented the designs of his brethren in office, who sought to render the King independent of parliaments by procuring such a revenue to be settled upon him for life, as would have enabled him to reign without intervention.

No party was inclined to patronise Clarendon. By the Papists, and the Dissenters, he was regarded as an implacable enemy ; nor had the royalist churchmen forgotten his share in the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity. The courtiers hated him, as the austere censor of their profligacy ; and Southampton's death, which happened about this period, deprived him of almost his only valuable friend. The King himself, with the hope of regaining the favour of the Commons, whom he had recently found more ready to talk about abuses than supplies, was not unwilling to sacrifice a suspected minister.* And he now con-

* His prodigality had involved him in the greatest difficulties ; " not " (as Clarendon himself observes) " out of bounty or generosity, which was a flower that did never grow naturally in the heart of either of the families, that of Stuart or the other of Bourbon ; but out of an unskilfulness and defect in the countenance." Charles' disappointment, likewise, about a young lady of the name of Stewart, whom he wished to marry after divorcing his Queen, added to his irritation. The Chancellor opposed the divorce, and she privately married the Duke of Richmond.

veyed to him through the Duke of York an intimation, that 'he would permit him to resign;' informing him, at the same time, that 'the parliament intended to impeach him, and that thus only could he save him from the fate of Strafford.' Clarendon, who had a few days before sustained a heavy affliction by the loss of his wife, assured his Majesty in a private audience that 'he would never, by a voluntary resignation, incur the guilt of shrinking either from service or scrutiny.' Upon which Charles, a few days afterward, demanded at his hands the Great Seal by one of the Secretaries of State.

But his removal from office was not sufficient to glut the rancour of his enemies.* An impeachment, consisting of fifteen articles, was drawn up by the Commons: but as they were found collectively, upon deliberation, to be far short of high-treason, it was deemed preferable to impeach him only in general terms, and to demand his imprisonment. With this the Lords refused to comply, until specific charges should be produced against him; and a breach ensued, in consequence, between the two Houses. Clarendon however, though there was no punishment of which he entertained greater apprehension than imprisonment, for some time resisted the importunity of his friends, who pressed him to withdraw from the storm. At last, he complied: but, before he embarked for his second and last exile, in an apologetic petition to the Upper House he vindicated his own conduct in the management of pub-

* Of these, Monk Duke of Albemarle, who had formerly loaded him with professions of friendship, was one of the most bitter.

lic affairs; affirming that ‘his whole estate, after paying his debts, would not exceed two thousand pounds a year,’ and charging upon others the mis-carriages which had recently incensed the nation. The Lords, on reading it, sent two of the Judges to desire a conference with the Commons upon its contents. But the Duke of Buckingham, at whom it clearly pointed, on delivering it to them, in his usual stile of insult and ridicule observed, “The Lords have commanded me to deliver to you this scandalous and seditious paper sent from the Earl of Ch~~re~~ndon. They bid me present it to you, and desire you in a convenient time to send it to them again; for it has a stile they are in love with, and therefore they desire to keep it.” After it had been read by the Commons, his Grace’s friends had influence sufficient to carry a vote, that it was ‘scandalous, malicious, and a reproach to the justice of the nation;’ and it was, accordingly, consigned by both Houses to the hands of the common hangman. This *impotent* revenge they would gladly have followed up with an Act of Attainder, subjecting him to the penalties of treason for having evaded their jurisdiction: but they found it expedient to rest satisfied with an Act of Banishment, which for ever excluded him from the British dominions unless before an assigned day he should appear to take his trial. Its noble writer, who had retired into France, was nearly driven from that kingdom by the interest of his enemies: for, at Rouen, he received orders to quit the French territories. He instantly set off to return to Calais, where being confined to his bed with the gout, he petitioned for time. In the interim, the Triple League between England, Holland, and Sweden

having altered the views and feelings of that perfidious court, caresses instead of threats were showered down on the illustrious exile. Upon this, he set out for Avignon, and in his way thither incurred some danger in a small town called Evreux from a body of English, Irish, and Scottish seamen, who had entered into the service of France, and pretending that great arrears were due to them from England, insisted that 'his Lordship should discharge them before he left the town.' In the hope, likewise, of receiving a reward from the English government, they had dragged him down into the court-yard for the purpose of murdering him; when providentially their commander, assisted by the officers of the police, rescued him from their hands.*

In the possession of the Great Seal he was succeeded by Sir Orlando Bridgman, with the title of Lord Keeper; and, in his Chancellorship of Oxford, by Archbishop Sheldon. Having been informed, two or three years after his banishment, that the Duchess of York was on the point of becoming a Papist, he addressed an admirable letter to his illustrious son-in-law upon the subject) though he knew him to be a concealed Papist); and another, more in detail, to his daughter; in which with the freedom and authority, as well as the tenderness of a parent, he manifested his great proficiency in polemical divinity, and his sagacity in detecting the artifices of the Church of Rome.

After sojourning in different parts of France, he at length fixed his residence at Montpellier. Here

* For this atrocious attempt, three of the ringleaders were broken upon the wheel.

he completed his 'History of the Rebellion,' and drew up those Memoirs of his private views and transactions, which throw much important light upon the incidents and individuals of the times. Beside these works, he left in manuscript an 'Historical Account of the Troubles of Ireland during the English Civil Wars,' first published in 1721, and other voluminous compositions, amounting (with his State Papers) to upward of eight folio volumes.*

But, however well his mind was framed to conform itself to his situation, neither the society nor the beauties of Montpelier could efface from his memory a tender recollection of his native country. At length he quitted the south of France, and took up his residence at Rouen, as a nearer approach to the beloved shores of England. At the commencement of his exile, even his children had not been permitted to visit him; and

* Of these may be specified:

1. A full Answer to an infamous and traitorous Libel, entitled, 'A Declaration of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, expressing their Reasons and Grounds for passing their late Resolutions, touching no farther Address or Application to be made to the King.' Lond. 1648, 4to.

2. The Difference and Disparity between the Estates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham, and Robert Earl of Essex. See '*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*,' &c. Lond. 1672, 8vo.

3. Animadversions on Mr. Cressy's book, entitled, 'Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr. Stillingfleet,' &c. Lond. 1674, 8vo.

4. A brief View and Survey of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to Church and State in Mr. Hobbes' Book, 'The Leviathan.' Oxon. 1676, 4to.

His 'Life,' and 'A Continuation of his History,' in 2 vols. 8vo., were published in 1759 by the University of Oxford. He wrote, also, 'Contemplations and Reflexions on the Psalms.'

Another work of his has likewise, recently, been published by the same learned body.

when this severe prohibition was withdrawn, he wrote to the King with the gratitude and humility of a mind softened and subdued by affliction. To his expressions of thankfulness he added a petition: "If your Majesty's compassion toward an old man, who hath served the crown above thirty years, in some trust and with some acceptance, will permit me to end my days, which cannot be many, in my own country and in the company of my own children, I shall acknowledge it as a great mercy; and do so entirely resign myself to your Majesty's pleasure, that I do assure your Majesty, if the bill of banishment were by your grace repealed, I would sooner go into the Indies than into England without your particular direction or license."

When seven years had passed over his head in exile, he again ventured to renew his fruitless supplications. He wrote to the King, to the Queen, and to the Duke of York, humbly intreating a gracious permission to die in his native island. "Seven years," says he, "was a time prescribed by God himself for the expiration of some of his greatest judgements; and it is full that time, since I have, with all possible humility, sustained the insupportable weight of the King's displeasure: so that I cannot be blamed, if I employ the short breath that is remaining in me in all manner of supplications, which may contribute to the lessening this burthen that is so heavy upon me." The utmost of his wishes seemed no exorbitant boon to a man, who had wasted his life in the service of his Sovereign. "Since it will be in nobody's power," he observes, "long to keep me from dying, methinks the desiring a place to die, in should not be thought a great presumption;

nor unreasonable for me to beg leave to die in my own country, and amongst my own children." But such unavailing prayers, addressed to a Prince without feelings either of humanity or of virtue, were not long to draw down fresh mortifications on the exiled minister. A few months after writing these letters, he paid the debt to nature, more exhausted by his misfortunes and premature infirmities, than by length of years. He died at Rouen, on the seventh of December, 1674, in the sixty third year of his age.

The close of this great minister's life awakens a more tender regret, than if we had been led to contemplate his magnanimous deportment on the scaffold. Whether, indeed, we view the progress or the termination of his career, we discover more frequent occasion for compassion than for envy. Even in his highest exaltation, he foresaw his fall: and anticipated the ingratitude of a master, whom he had faithfully served in every vicissitude. His undeviating virtue, in a corrupt age, and amidst the temptations both of prosperity and misfortune, attracts our admiration more forcibly than either the reach of his talents or the elevation of his views. His religion, as well as his policy, was clouded with prejudices; but, while we lament a weakness inseparable from humanity, we honour the uncontaminated rectitude of his intentions. His chief failing seems to have been too entire devotion to a Prince, who did not deserve his general attachment. Yet could he never subdue his mind to the pliant principles, or supple manners, of a court; and, as he frequently spoke without reverence to those who were not entitled to respect, he incurred the imputation of that haughty and reserved demeanour, which is so often united

with the possession of power. The pride of office, however, seems little consistent with the usual soundness of his judgement, while in his eventful times he could not look around him without seeing numerous examples of the instability of greatness, to chastise the suggestions of human presumption. During the meridian of his power, when he repaired to his country-residence at Cornbury, the neighbouring nobility and gentry hastened to pay their obeisance to the favourite minister of their Sovereign. Among others, it is said that Lenthall, the Speaker of the Long Parliament, and once from his station the most conspicuous man in the empire, came to visit him. As he passed along the hall to the place where the Chancellor stood, the company on either hand amused themselves with petulant jests on his altered condition and humbled demeanour. Lenthall observed their countenances, and addressing himself with a smile to Clarendon, "These very gentlemen," said he, "who now come to pay their respects to your Lordship, have formerly done the very same to me."

That he was an able and trusty counsellor to his Prince, remarks a respectable writer, will appear from the several remonstrances, arguments, answers, and declarations, in vindication of that just equilibrium between the King, Lords, and Commons, which was notoriously invaded by the usurpation of Cromwell and his partisans. The merit of these arguments has been, hitherto, ascribed to his master Charles I.; and the enemies of Hyde have accused him of having led the King too far into non-compliance with the will of his parliament. This imputation, however, will appear groundless to those, who remember that

he presumed so far as to advise the King to soften the acrimony of his answers to the parliament, of whom he was one of the Commissioners.

His tender concern for that important branch of the constitution, episcopacy, cannot be too much commended by the friends of genuine Christianity. He ably discharged his trust in attending and instructing the Prince of Wales; whose excesses he invariably and honestly reprobated with a freedom, for which he was frequently pronounced by his royal pupil obstinate and imperious. His generosity to his inveterate enemies, Coventry and Arlington, was most honourable: for when a combination had notoriously been formed by those gentlemen to undo him, and he was assured by several members of the House of Commons, that ‘there was but one way to intercept their hostility, which was by falling first upon them, in which they would themselves zealously assist him;’ adding, that ‘he never said or did any word or action in the most secret council, but they two had divulged to his disadvantage;’ he mildly, but steadily, rejected their overtures. The calumny of his having accumulated immense property during his administration, by corruption and bribery, is abundantly confuted by the inconsiderable amount of his fortune at the time of his disgrace. To the charge of having advised Charles II. to the sale of Dunkirk, the treatment which he received from the French King, during his exile in that kingdom, affords a sufficient answer; neither could any of the articles of impeachment against him be substantiated.

Hobbes has defined sudden courage to be anger. “If so,” remarks Lord Shaftesbury, “Courage, con-

sidered as constant and belonging to a character, must in his account be defined constant anger, or anger constantly recurring. 'All men,' says a witty poet (Rochester) 'would be cowards, if they durst.' That the poet and the philosopher both were cowards, may be yielded probably without dispute! They may have spoken, perhaps, the best of their knowledge." With an heroic spirit Clarendon rejects this degrading notion. When he looked into his own heart, he found that courage was a real virtue, which would have induced him, had it been necessary, to have shed his blood as a patriot. Drawing a parallel between a man of real courage and a Hobbist, brought to die together by a judgement they cannot avoid, "How comes it to pass," he asks, "that one of these undergoes death with no other concernment than as if he were going any other journey, and the other with such confusion and trembling, that he is even without life before he dies; if it were true, that all men fear alike upon the like occasion?"

With Hobbes himself Clarendon was intimately acquainted, and from the Preface to his 'Survey of the Leviathan' it appears that, while at Paris, the philosopher showed a proof sheet or two of his work ('a text book for a despot*') to the statesman, who, he soon discovered, could not approve its hardy tenets. "He frequently came to me," observes Clarendon,

* The principles of this production, however, were so hardy, that they were considered as a satire on arbitrary power, and Hobbes himself as a concealed favourer of democracy. Hence, though he had presented 'the royal exile' with a magnificent copy of it written on vellum, he was dismissed from his presence at Paris. Upon this occasion, the author could not help observing, that 'his Majesty understood his writings better than his accusers.'

“ and told me ‘ his book (which he would call ‘ *Leviathan*’) was then printing in England.’ He said, that ‘ he knew when I read his book I would not like it,’ and mentioned some of his conclusions : upon which I asked him, ‘ Why he would publish such doctrine ? ’ to which, after a discourse between jest and earnest, he said ; ‘ The truth is, I have a mind to go home.”

As a writer, his ‘ *History of the Civil Wars* ’ is an honourable proof of his ability. He does not, like other historians, trifle away his labour in a dry detail of facts, or a minute and circumstantial account of things or persons, times or places : but he throws incidental lights upon them ; and a fact, when he relates it, becomes like a precious brilliant, reflecting rays from every point of it. When he makes us acquainted with persons, he introduces them with the accuracy of one, who knew the recesses of the heart of man ; he traverses their designs, and unravels and develops all their windings and evasions. How amiably does he handle a good character ! We are enamoured with the charms of the virtuous ; and we lament the defects of the vicious, which he lays open with the judgement of an artist. His colourings are of a most vivid complexion.

Of his ‘ *History* ’ Hume remarks that, except Whitlocke’s ‘ *Memorials*,’ it is the most candid account of those times composed by any contemporary author. From the circumstance of his knowing, like Sallust, the individuals whose characters he drew, we may account for the animation, as Johnson *

* The operation of this writer’s inveterate prejudices must excite a smile, when we read in his *Idler*, No. 5, the following paragraph : “ The authenticity of Clarendon’s ‘ *History*,’ though

(somewhat less satisfactorily) infers the truth, of his portraits. He writes indeed, says Aikin, like a man who has taken a decided part; and, in his moral estimate of persons and things, assumes as principles the justice of the side to which he attached himself, and the criminality of the opposite. But, with this allowance, his representations are usually fair and moderate. His stile is not without beauty; but the construction of his sentences is often extremely perplexed, and great ambiguity results from his unskilful use of the relative pronoun.

“Clarendon,” says an illustrious living statesman, “was unquestionably a lover of truth, and a sincere friend to the free constitution of his country. He defended that constitution in parliament, with zeal and energy, against the encroachments of prerogative,* and concurred in the establishment of new securities necessary for its protection. He did indeed, when these had been obtained, oppose with equal determination those continually increasing demands of parliament, which appeared to him to threaten the existence of the monarchy itself: desirous, if possible, to conciliate the maintenance of public liberty with the preservation of public peace, and to turn aside from his country all the evils, to

printed with the sanction of one of the first Universities of the world, had not an unexpected MS. been happily discovered, would (with the help of factious credulity) have been brought into question by the two lowest of all human beings, a scribbler for a party and a Commissioner of Excise.” (Oldmixon, and Duckett.)

* See particularly the accounts, in Rushworth and Whitlocke, of Clarendon's parliamentary conduct in 1640 and 1641; and of that of Falkland and Colepeper, with whom he acted.

which those demands immediately and manifestly tended.*

“ The wish was honourable and virtuous, but it was already become impracticable. The purposes of irreconcilable ambition, entertained by both the contending parties, were utterly inconsistent with the re-establishment of mutual confidence. The parliamentary leaders openly grasped at the exclusive possession of all civil and all military authority ; and, on the other hand, the perfidy with which the King had violated his past engagements still rankled in the hearts of his people, whose just suspicions of his sincerity were continually renewed by the unsteadiness of his conduct ; even in the very moments of fresh concession : while, amongst a large proportion of the community, every circumstance of civil injury or oppression was inflamed and aggravated by the utmost violence of religious animosity.

“ In this unhappy state, the calamities of war could no longer be averted : but the miseries by which the contest was attended, and the military tyranny to which it so naturally led, justified all the fear of those, who had from the beginning most dreaded that terrible extremity.

“ At the Restoration, the same virtuous statesman protected the constitution against the blind or interested zeal of excessive loyalty ; and, if Monk had the glory of restoring the monarchy of England, to

* A general recapitulation of these demands may be found in the message sent by the two Houses to the King, June 2, 1642 ; a paper, which is recited by Ludlow as explanatory of the real intentions of the parliament at that period, and as being ‘ in effect the principal foundation of the ensuing war.’

Clarendon is ascribed the merit of re-establishing her laws and liberties : a service, no less advantageous to the crown, than honourable to himself ; but which was numbered among the chief of those offences, for which he was afterward abandoned, sacrificed, and persecuted by his unfeeling, corrupt, and profligate Master.”—(Lord Grenville’s Preface to the late ‘ Earl of Chatham’s Letters.’)

A distinguishing excellence of Lord Clarendon’s composition consists in his lively and accurate delineation of character. Those of Hampden and Strafford have been already given under their respective lives : I must however add that of Cromwell, and of Lord Falkland who fell in the Battle of Newbury.

CROMWELL.

‘ He was one of those men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent* ; ‘ whom his very enemies could not condemn, without commending him at the same time : ’ for he could never have ~~done~~ half that mischief, without great parts of courage, industry, and judgement. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them, who from a private and obscure birth (though of a good family) without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence, that contributed to his designs and to their

own destruction; while himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those, by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said of Cinna may, very justly, be said of him : *Ausum eum quæ nemo auderet bonus, perfecisse quæ à nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent* ; ‘ he attempted those things, which no good man durst have ventured on, and achieved those, in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded.’ Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion and moral honesty : yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those designs without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

‘ When he appeared first in the parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to conciliate the affections of the stander-by : yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had concealed faculties till he had occasion to use them ; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency notwithstanding the want of custom.

‘ After he was confirmed and invested Protector by the ‘ Humble Petition and Advice,’ he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon with more than those, who were to have principal parts in the execution of it ; nor with them, sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in

which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them, who were not willing to yield it.

‘ To conclude his character, Cromwell was not so far a man of blood, as to follow Machiavel’s method; which prescribes upon a total alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that in the Council of Officers, it was more than once proposed, ‘ That there might be a general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government,’ but that Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too great a contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many crimes, against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some good qualities which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon, by posterity, as a brave wicked man.*

FALKLAND.

* In this unhappy battle was slain the Lord Viscount Falkland, a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness

* In the Letters ascribed to the profligate Lord Lyttelton, the same sentiment is expressed as follows: *l’uomo grande ne e vizii, e nelle virtu; che net’ arbitrio di licentiosa fortuna visse con mirabile continenza sobrio, casto, modesto, vigilante, infesso; ma da estrema ambitione agitato appena potè saziarsi col sangue del Rè. e coll’oppressione del regno.* (Lett. xxxii.)

and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity.

‘ Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore.

‘ Before this parliament his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was Lord Deputy ; so that, when he returned into England to the possession of his fortune, he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends, which usually grow up by the custom of conversation ; and therefore was to make a pure election of his company ; which he chose by other rules than were prescribed to the young nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures, and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship for the most part was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity ; and such men had a title to his bosom.

‘ He was a great cherisher of wit, and fancy, and good parts, in any man ; and if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron toward them, even above his for-

tune; of which, in those administrations, he was such a dispenser, as if he had been trusted with it to such uses; and if there had been the least of vice in his expense, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore, having once resolved not to see London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry, that it will not be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

‘ In this time, his house being within little more than ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that university; who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgement in him, so infinite a fancy bound in by a most logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air, so that his house was a university in a less volume, whither they came not so much for repose, as study; and to examine and refine those grosser propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

‘ Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his mother (who was a lady of another persuasion in religion, and of a most masculine understanding, alloyed with the passion and infirmities of her own sex) to pervert him in his piety to the

Church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laics; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest, of the Greek and Latin fathers, and having a memory so stupendous, that he remembered on all occasions whatsoever he read. And he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced by difference of opinion in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests and others of the Roman church, he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons and estimation of their parts; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when by sinister arts they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and stolen them from his house and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters; upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal position of that religion, with that sharpness of style and full weight of reason, that the church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they were not published to the world.

‘ He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men; and that made him too much a contemner of those arts, which must be ulged in the transactions of human affairs. In

the last short parliament, he was a burgess in the House of Commons; and from the debates, which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that convention, he harboured (it may be) some jealousy and prejudice to the Court, toward which he was not before immoderately inclined; his father having wasted a full fortune there, in those offices and employments, by which other men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this parliament to serve in the same place, and in the beginning of it declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitances which had been most grievous to the state; for he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules, that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of state to break positive rules, for reasons of state; or judges to transgress known laws, upon the title of conveniency or necessity; which made him so severe against the Earl of Strafford and the Lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleness and temper; insomuch as they, who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge as it was from pride, thought that the sharpness to the former might proceed from the memory of some unkindness, not without a mixture of injustice, from him toward his father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and in both cases was only misled by the authority of those who, he be-

lieved, understood the laws perfectly, of which himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was then scarce controverted, had been true, "That an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom was treason," a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgement, from the exorbitant parts of their several charges.

' The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hampden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and, though he differed from them commonly in conclusion, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned in them a desire to control that law by a vote of one or both Houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble by reason and argumentation, insomuch as he was by degrees looked upon as an advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even those invitations, which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the Court and to the courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the King's or Queen's favour toward him, but the deserving it. For when the King sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those councils, which his Majesty graciously termed "doing him service," his answers were more negligent and less satisfactory than might be expected, as if he cared only that his

actions should be just, not that they should be acceptable, and that his Majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of conscience, without any sympathy in his affections ; which from a stoical and sullen nature might not have been misinterpreted, yet from a person of so perfect a habit of generous and obsequious compliance with all good men might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averseness to his service : so that he took more pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than most men have done to procure an office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the King's grace and trust, at that time, he had not been called to his council ; not that he was in truth averse from receiving public employments ; for he had a great devotion to the King's person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a foreign negociation, and had once a desire to be sent ambassador into France ; but he abhorred an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man, that in the discharge of his trust and duty in parliament he had any bias to the Court, or that the King himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest.

‘ For this reason, when he heard it first whispered ‘That the King had a purpose to make him a Privy Counsellor,’ for which there was in the beginning no other ground but because he was known sufficient (*haud semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit*), he resolved to decline it ; and at last suffered himself only to be overruled by the advice and persuasions of

his friends, to submit to it. Afterward, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his friends, ‘ That he was most unfit for it, and that he must either do that which would be great disquiet to his own nature, or leave that undone which was most necessary to be done by one that was honoured with that place: for the most just and honest men did, every day, that which he could not give himself leave to do.’ And indeed he was so exact and strict an observer of justice and truth, that he believed those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other men, and those arts and insinuations which are necessary for discoveries and prevention of ill, would be in him a declension from his own rules of life; though he acknowledged them fit, and absolutely necessary to be practised in those employments. He was, in truth, so precise in the practice principles he prescribed himself (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had lived in *Republicæ Platonis, non in facie Romuli*.

‘ Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them: the first, the consideration that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the King’s affairs, and that men would have believed that he had refused so great an honour and trust, because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable; and this he made matter of conscience, since he knew the King made choice of him before other men, especially because he thought him more honest than other men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were

sorely troubled at the displacing Sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients; and he so much the more consented to, and approved the justice upon Sir Harry Vane, in his own private judgement, by how much he surpassed most men in the religious observation of a trust, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

‘ For these reasons, he submitted to the King’s command, and became his secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, while he continued in that office that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omission in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them. I do not mean such emissaries, as with danger would venture to view the enemy’s camp, and bring intelligence of their number or quartering, or any particulars that such an observation can comprehend; but those who by communication of guilt, or dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such trusts and secrets as enable them to make discoveries. The other, the liberty of opening letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, “ Such instruments must be void of all ingenuity and common honesty, before they could be of use; and, afterward,

they could never be fit to be credited: and that no single preservation could be worth so general a wound and corruption of human society, as the cherishing such persons would carry with it. The last he thought such a violation of the law of nature, that no qualification by office could justify him in the trespass: and though he was convinced by the necessity and iniquity of the time, that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessary to be practised, he found means to put it off from himself, whilst he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission: so unwilling was he to resign any part of good nature to an obligation in his office.

‘ In all other particulars, he filled his place with great sufficiency, being well versed in languages, to understand any that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look toward corruption, *in tanto viro injuria virtutum fuerit*. Some sharp expressions he used against the Archbishop of Canterbury; and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of Bishops in the House of Peers, gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude and publish, “ That he was no friend to the church and the established government of it,” and troubled his very friends much, who were more confident of the contrary than prepared to answer the allegations.

‘ The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the Archbishop; and having observed his passions, when it may be multiplicity of business or other indisposition had possessed him, did wish ~~he~~ less entangled and engaged in the business of the

court or state : though I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great learning and confessed integrity ; and really thought his own letting himself loose to those expressions which implied a disesteem of the Archbishop, or at least an acknowledgement of his infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction ; which he abominated with his soul.

‘ The giving his consent to the first bill for the displacing the Bishops, did proceed from two grounds : the first, his not understanding then the original of their right and suffrage there ; the other, an opinion that the combination against the whole government of the church by Bishops was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in secular affairs would not preserve the order. And he was persuaded to this by the profession of many persons of honour, who declared, “ They did desire the one, and would not then press the other ; ” which, in that particular, misled many men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their intentions than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second bill that was preferred for that purpose ; and had, without scruple, the order itself in perfect reverence, and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men. He was never in the least degree swayed or moved by the objections, which were made against that government in the church (holding them most ridiculous) or affected to the other, which those men fancied to themselves.

‘ He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear, that he seemed not

without some appetite of danger, and therefore upon any occasion of action, he always engaged his person in those troops, which he thought by the forwardness of the commanders to be most like to be farthest engaged: and in all such encounters he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulness, without at all affecting the execution that usually attended them; in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not by resistance made necessary, inso-much that at Edge Hill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom it may be others were more fierce for their having thrown them away; so that a man might think he came into the field chiefly out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier; and shortly after he came to his fortune, before he was of age, he went into the Low-Countries, with a resolution of procuring command, and to give himself up to it; from which he was diverted by the complete inactivity of that summer: so he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the first alarm from the north; then again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse, of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the Earl of Essex.

‘ From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to: yet being one

of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side, that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victory (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat*. But after the King's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he who had been so exactly easy and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became on a sudden less communicable; and thence very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness and industry and expense, than is usual to so great a soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick and sharp and severe, that there wanted not some men (strangers to his nature and disposition) who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free.

‘ It is true, that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even submission to good and worthy and brave men, so he was naturally (which could not be more evident in his place, which objected him to another conversation and intermix-

ture than his own election would have done) *adversus malos injucundus*; and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men, that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once, in the House of Commons, such a declared acceptance of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and (as they said) to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, "That the Speaker might, in the name of the whole House, give him thanks, and then that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgement, stir or move his hat toward him: the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the Lord Falkland (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompence), instead of moving his hat stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head, that all men might see, how odious that flattery was to him, and that very approbation of the person, though at the same time most popular.

' When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing, which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often after a deep silence, and frequent sighs, would with a shrill and sad accent ingeminate the word 'Peace, Peace;' and would passionately profess, "That the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart." This made some think, or pretend to think, that he was so much enamoured of peace, that he

would have been glad the King should have bought it at any price; which was a most unreasonable calumny. As if a man, that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour, could have wished the King to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloucester, when his friends passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger (for he delighted to visit the trenches, and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did) as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily, "That his office could not take away the privileges of his age, and that a Secretary in War might be present at the greatest secret of danger; but withal alleged seriously, "That it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard, than other men; that all might see, that his impatience for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own person."

' In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musqueteers; whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning, till when there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination.

‘ Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four-and-thirtieth year of his age, having so much despatched the true business of life, that the eldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocence : whosoever leads such a life needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him.’

JOHN MILTON.*

[1608—1674.]

THIS illustrious man was of a family, which had been long established at Milton, near Halton and Thame in Oxfordshire; and which, having lost it's property in consequence of it's connexion with the losing party in the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, was preserved from indigence by a wealthy intermarriage.

John Milton, the grandfather of the poet, was under-ranger of the forest of Shotover near Halton; and, being a zealous Papist, disinherited the intermediate link of connexion, on his adoption of the Protestant faith. Under this stroke of paternal bigotry the son, leaving Christ Church, Oxford, where he had been placed for his education, repaired to London, and there sought the means of support from the practice of the law and the business of a scrivener. Having married a lady of good family, he purchased a house and settled in Bread Street, where his eldest son, the subject of this Memoir, was born December 9, 1608.

* **AUTHORITIES.** Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, and Toland's, Ellwood's, Fenton's, Richardson's, Birch's, Peck's, Newton's Johnson's, and Symmons' *Life of Milton*.

His education was at first conducted, beneath the immediate eye of his father, by a domestic tutor; and was continued at St. Paul's School, under the management at that time of Mr. Alexander Gill. In these successive situations, the industry and the genius of the pupil, so perfectly corresponded with the attentions and the abilities of his masters, that his progress in classical knowledge far exceeded the customary attainments even of brilliant boys, during the years which are allotted to the initiatory studies of a school.

From the age of twelve, as he himself tells us, he usually passed the greater part of the night in the company of his books; and of this intense and unseasonable application the effects were those pains in his head, and that weakness of his eyes, which he regarded as the remote intimations and causes of his final and total loss of sight.

In the year 1624-5, he was removed from St. Paul's School to Christ's College, Cambridge, and was there consigned to the tuition of Mr. William Chappell, who was raised at a late period to the bishopric of Ross in Ireland.

On the larger theatre of an University, young Milton soon distinguished himself by the superiority of his erudition and his talents. His poetic compositions, indeed, in Latin and in English, could not fail of diffusing his youthful fame: as by the former he established his claim to an eminent place among the scholars of modern Europe; and in the latter, he discovered bright glimpses of that transcendent genius, which was destined subsequently to enthrone him on the summit of the Aonian hill.

On taking the degree of M. A. in 1631, he quitted

the University, and passed the five succeeding years with his parents at Horton, near Colnbrook in Buckinghamshire; to which place his father had retired, with the view of resigning his old age to the enjoyment of competence and privacy.

Though intended however for the church, he regarded with a reluctance so insuperable the requisite subscription to the Thirty Nine Articles, that the project was wholly abandoned. His objections in this instance are clearly stated, and forcibly defended by his own masterly pen, in his Introduction to the ‘Reason of Church-Government.’

During his residence at Horton, he applied himself with unremitting assiduity to the reading of the Greek and Roman classics, to the study of history, to the cultivation of his imagination, and to the improvement of his poetical talent.

In 1634, he produced the *Masque of Comus*, which was exhibited at Ludlow Castle before John Earl of Bridgewater, at that time President of Wales. In the edition of this dramatic poem, published by Mr. Henry Lawes, we are informed that its principal characters were personated by Lord Brackley, the Hon. Thomas Egerton, Lady Alice their sister, and Mr. Lawes himself, who represented the Attendant Spirit.

In 1637, appeared his ‘*Lycidas*,’ in which he lamented^{*} the death of Mr. Edward King; * a young man of eminent accomplishments and abilities, who

* He was son of Sir John King, who had been Secretary for Ireland in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles; and between him and Milton there seems to have subsisted a very close intimacy, resulting from a similarity of attainments, talents, and virtues.

had been lost on his passage from Ireland, and whose popularity in Cambridge was so great, that the University published in the subsequent year a quarto volume of poems as an offering to his memory.

To the period of Milton's retirement at Horton must be ascribed the production of those exquisite effusions of his juvenile imagination, '*I' Allegro*,' and '*Il Penseroso*;' which, with the '*Comus*' and the '*Lycidas*,' would by themselves have sufficiently established his poetic fame, and have ranked him with the most favoured votaries of the Muse.

The stories of his disorderly conduct at this and at the preceding period of his life, when it was affirmed that 'he had been the subject of academical punishment,' may be rejected as unfounded on truth, and the mere fabrications of fierce but impotent malignity. In every stage of his life, there is abundant proof of his uniform and exemplary morality; and his frequent excursions from Horton to the metropolis, whatever object might be assigned to them by his adversaries, were solely for the purposes of purchasing books, and improving himself in the mathematics and in music.

On the death of his mother, he obtained the permission of his father to travel: and communicating his intention to Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eton College, who had formerly resided as the Ambassador of England at Venice, that gentleman addressed a letter to him replete with professions of friendship and respect, and offering instructions with respect to his conduct and route. On the receipt of this epistle, which is published among the '*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*,' and in more than one of the Lives of

Milton, he departed for France, accompanied only by one servant, who attended him through the whole course of his travels.

At Paris, he was introduced to the celebrated Hugo Grotius: but without lingering in the capital of France he proceeded almost immediately to Marseilles, and there embarking, speedily attained the object of his excursion from England by landing in Italy, and introducing himself to the arts and the literature of that enlightened country. At Florence, and at Rome, he was treated with marked distinction by the learned and the great; and in those places, where the genius of the moderns had revived the erudition and rivalled the productions of the ancients, his talents and his knowledge obtained proud applause, and may be regarded as first receiving that homage, which they afterward exacted from the admiration of the world.

At Naples, he was introduced to the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, the friend and biographer of Tasso, to whom that illustrious poet inscribed his 'Dialogues on Friendship,' and whose name he introduced with honour into his immortal '*Gierusalemme Liberata*.' By this nobleman Milton was distinguished with the attentions of peculiar friendship, was honoured with his familiar visits, and was accompanied in excursions through the city, for the purpose of seeing those objects which were principally interesting to the curiosity of strangers.

As he was about to depart from Naples, he was still more strongly assured of the respect of this liberal foreigner by the compliment of a Latin distich; in which, praise carried to it's greatest

height was diminished only by a slight reference to the heretical faith of it's Protestant subject. Grati-
fied with all these accumulated and invaluable in-
stances of regard, Milton presented the Marquis in
return with a Latin poem, entitled '*Mansus*,' which
is distinguished equally by the elegance of it's pane-
gyric, the beauty of it's numbers, and the elevation
of it's sentiments; thus completing the laurel-crown
of this new Mæcenas of Italy, and to the other cir-
cumstances of his propitious fortune adding that of
his being honoured with the praise of the two first
epic poets of modern Europe.

Having now visited the finest parts of Italy, and
conversed with her most eminent men, he was pre-
paring to extend his travels to Sicily and Greece;
when intelligence from England of the near approach
of a civil war diverted him from his purpose, and
induced him to sacrifice his own immediate gratifica-
tion in the improvement of his mind to the duty
which he owed to his country: for he deemed it
shameful, as he himself informs us, to be enjoying
his ease abroad, even for the acquisition of know-
ledge, while his compatriots were struggling in
blood for their liberties at home. He resolved,
therefore, without hesitation to renounce his fa-
vourite project, and to return to his post of diffi-
culty and danger as a citizen of Britain. Disregard-
ing the intimation, which he had received, of perils
awaiting him at Rome in consequence of the im-
prudent freedom of his conversation upon religious
topics, he revisited the Papal city; and during the
term of his continuance in it neither timidly con-
cealed, nor ostentatiously flaunted, his Protestant
opinions. From Rome he passed to Florence, to

experience again the affectionate attentions of his friends on the banks of the Arno. After spending a few days upon an excursion to Lucca, the native place of his friend Charles Deodati's family, he left Tuscany, and crossing the Apennines repaired through Bologna and Ferrara to Venice, where he resided during a month. Having then shipped for England the books which he had collected in his travels, he pursued his course through Verona, Milan, and along the lake Lemanus to Geneva. Here he continued for some time in the society of persons of his own religious and civil principles, and here he contracted an intimate acquaintance with Giovanni Deodati, the learned Professor of Divinity, whose commentary on the Sacred Writings has been published in English. Returning thence through France, by the same road which he had trod before, he arrived in his native country after an absence of fifteen months; in the course of which he had seen much of the world, been conversant with the characters of many celebrated men, examined the policy of different countries, and obtained a larger body of information than persons of inferior genius and less penetrating minds have been able to accumulate in a term of far longer duration.

On his return, he undertook the education of his sister's two sons; and yielding to the solicitations of some of his friends, who were anxious that he should impart to their children the same advantages, he removed to a handsome house in Aldersgate Street, and enlarged the number of his pupils.

He now formed his plan of academical institution, and communicated it to the world in a 'Treatise on Education,' in which he professes to lead the scholar

‘from Lilly,’ as he expresses it, ‘to the time of his commencing Master of Arts.’ His success was answerable to his capacity for the undertaking; and in this kind of scholastic solitude he continued for some time: but his academical studies did not lead him to remain an indifferent spectator of what was acting upon the public theatre of his country.

The nation being in a great ferment in 1641, and the clamor against episcopacy running extremely high, Milton, who discovered how much inferior in eloquence and learning the Puritan ministers were to the Bishops, engaged warmly with the former in the support of their common cause, and exerted all the powers of reason and learning to overthrow the National Establishment. The effects of his controversial power upon this occasion were five tracts on the subject of Church-Government,* of which four were published in London in the course of a single twelvemonth: the ‘Apology for Smectymnuus,’ with which he closed the controversy, was the production of the following year.

In the year 1643, Milton married Mary, the eldest daughter of Richard Powell, Esq. of Forest Hill in Oxfordshire. This lady had not resided with her husband much more than a month, when she procured an invitation from her father to pass the summer

* The first was entitled, ‘Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England, and the Causes that have hitherto hindered it. In Two Books: written to a Friend:’ The second was, ‘Of Prelatical Episcopacy,’ against Archbishop Usher: The third, ‘The Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelacy, in Two Books:’ The fourth, ‘Animadversions upon the Remonstrant’s Defence against Smectymnuus;’ and the last, ‘An Apology for Smectymnuus.’

with her friends at his house : and the indulgence of her husband allowed her to accept the invitation, on her promise of returning to him at Michaelmas. In the mean time, he applied himself closely to his studies ; and his chief amusement was an occasional visit in the evening to Lady Margaret Ley, daughter of the Earl of Marlborough, Lord High Treasurer of England, and President of the Privy Council under James I. This Lady, possessing an excellent understanding, took great delight in his conversation, and with her husband Captain Hobson showed him particular respect. Milton's sense of her merit and her politeness is discovered in a Sonnet, which he addressed to her, and which is preserved with his other poems.

. At the appointed time he expected the return of his wife, and on her failing to come, wrote a letter to her ; but without obtaining an answer. Repeated applications failing to overcome her silence, he sent her a special messenger upon the subject, whom she instantly dismissed with contempt. For this extraordinary conduct Milton's biographers have assigned various reasons ; but it seems most probable, that she had conceived a dislike to her husband's retired and philosophic mode of life, which offered a striking contrast to the gayety of her father's affluent and social mansion. Whatever was the cause of it, he was so highly incensed at her conduct, that he resolved to repudiate her ; and published upon this occasion his ' Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' to prove that ' indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind proceeding from any unchangeable cause in nature, hindering and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace

and peace, are greater reasons of divorce than adultery or natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and there be mutual consent for separation.' This piece was, at first, given to the world anonymously; but the stile betraying it's author, he printed with his name a second edition of it, and dedicating it to the Parliament of England and the Assembly of Divines, desired that 'the subject might be taken into serious consideration.' On the promulgation of this novel doctrine, he was warmly attacked from the press; and, in his defence, published Martin Bucer's opinions on divorce, as supporting and sanctioning his own. To answer other objections likewise, which represented his opinions as anti-scriptural, he produced, in 1645, his '*Tetrachordon*, or Exposition upon the Four Chief Passages in Scripture' (Gen. i. 27, 28. Deut. xxiv. 1, 2. Matt. v. 31, 32. and 1 Cor. vii. 13—16.) which treat of marriage and nullities of marriage. Of these publications the Assembly of Divines so highly disapproved, that they summoned the writer before the House of Lords; but by them he was dismissed, without even a reprimand. In reply to two pamphlets, which appeared against him, one entitled 'Divorce at Pleasure,' and the other 'An Answer to the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' he drew up his '*Cōlasterion*,' and here ended the contest. Resolved to evince his sincerity at least upon this subject, he now proceeded to pay his addresses to a young lady: and regarding himself as wholly freed from his former matrimonial engagement, would undoubtedly have solemnised his second nuptials; if the decisiveness of his conduct had not alarmed his first wife and her relations, and induced them to be

anxious for a re-union. The mode and management, by which this was effected, were remarkable. As he was visiting at the house of a relation, of the name of Blackborough in St. Martin's le Grand, it was contrived (with the concurrence of that gentleman, who was friendly to the plan) that Milton's wife should be in an adjacent room; and, when he was quite unaware of such a circumstance, he was surprised by seeing her on her knees before him, with tears imploring his forgiveness. At first, he discovered a resolution to resist: but his firmness presently yielded; and the intercession of friends speedily procured an entire reconciliation, and an oblivion of the past. In his own words respecting Eve,

‘ — Soon his heart relented

Toward her, his life so late and sole delight,
Now at his feet submissive in distress.’

His generous behaviour to his wife's father and the rest of her family, whom he took under his protection after their royalist friends were ruined, does great honour to his character. He entertained them all at his own house, till through his interest their estate and effects were restored to them by the parliament. In 1646, his wife bore him a daughter, and it appears that they subsequently lived very happily together.

About this time, his zeal for the republican party had so far recommended him, that a design was formed for making him Adjutant General in Sir William Waller's division; but the new-modelling of the army proved an obstruction to the accomplishment of the measure. Soon after the march of Fairfax and Cromwell through the city, in order to sup-

press the insurrection which Brown and Massey were endeavouring to raise against their proceedings, he quitted his large house in Barbican for a smaller in High Holborn, where he prosecuted his studies till after the trial and execution of Charles I. He, then, published his ‘Tenure of Kings and Magistrates;’ to prove that ‘it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any persons, who have the power, to call to account a tyrant or wicked king, and after due conviction to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary magistrates have neglected or refused to do it.’ In the same year, 1649, appeared his ‘Observations on the Articles of Peace between James Earl of Ormond for King Charles I. on the one hand, and the Irish Rebels and Papists on the other hand; and a Letter sent by Ormond to Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin; and a Representation of the Scotch Presbytery at Belfast in Ireland.’

He was now admitted into the service of the Commonwealth, and was appointed Latin Secretary to the Council of State, who had resolved neither to send nor to receive letters but in the Latin tongue, as a language common to all nations.* He was employed however not only as Latin Secretary, but likewise as a political writer; for the famous ‘*Eikon Basilike*, or Royal Image,’ reputedly composed by Charles I. in his own vindication, having made it’s appearance soon after his death, Milton was requested to draw up an answer to it; a service, which he performed in a publication entitled ‘*Eikonoclastes*, or the Image-Breaker.’ In 1651, he published his ‘*Pro Populo*

* Upon the propriety of this decision, and the folly of continuing to use the French language in diplomacy, Eustace in his ‘Classical Tour’ descants with equal justness and patriotism.

Anglicano Defensio, against the *Defensio Regia* of Salmásius; and, for this, he is said to have been rewarded by the Commonwealth with a present of a thousand pounds. He had, also, a considerable hand in correcting and improving a piece written by his nephew, Mr. John Philips, and printed in 1652 under the title of '*Joannis Philippi Angli Responsio ad Apologiam Anonymi cujusdam Tenebrionis pro Rege et Populo Anglicano infandissimam*'. During the publishing of this work, he lodged at one Thompson's, next door to the Bull's Head Tavern, at Charing Cross; but he soon afterward removed to a garden-house in Petty France, next door to Lord Scudamore's, where he remained till within a few weeks of the Restoration. In this house, his first wife dying in child-bed in 1652, he married a second (Katharine, daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney) who died of the consequences of child-birth, after she had been brought to bed of a daughter. This second marriage was contracted subsequently to the total extinction of his sight; for his eyes, which had been gradually losing their power for nearly twelve of the preceding years, seem to have closed in entire darkness about the time of his completing the '*Defence of the People of England*,' or early in 1652. In 1654, he published his '*Defensio Secunda*,' and the year following, his '*Defensio pro Se*.'

Being now at leisure from his state-adversaries and public controversies, he again prosecuted his private studies and projects, particularly his '*History of England*,' and his new '*Thesaurus Linguae Latine*,' according to the method of Robert Stephens, the manuscript of which (contained in three large volumes, folio) was employed by the editors of the Cambridge Dictionary, printed in quarto, 1693. In 1658.

he published ‘Sir Walter Raleigh’s Cabinet-Council;’ and, in 1659, ‘A Treatise of the Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Courts, and Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church; wherein are also Discourses of Tythes, Church-fees, Church-revenues, and whether any Maintenance of Ministers can be settled in Law.’

Upon the dissolution of the parliament by the army, after Richard Cromwell had resigned the Protectorship Milton wrote a letter, in which he laid down the model of a Commonwealth; not such as he judged the best, but such as might then be the most readily settled, to prevent the restoration of kingly government and the recurrence of domestic disorders. He drew up, likewise, another piece to the same purpose, which seems to have been addressed to General Monk; and in February, 1659, he published his ‘Ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth.’ Soon after this, he printed in quarto his ‘Brief Notes upon a late Sermon entitled, The Fear of God and the King.’ To these two last publications a sharp reply was made by Roger L’Estrange, in a piece called ‘No Blind Guides.’

Just before the Restoration he retired from his office of Latin Secretary, and by the advice of his friends concealed himself, till the event of public affairs should direct him what course to pursue. For this purpose, he withdrew to a friend’s house in Bartholomew Close, near West Smithfield, where he remained till the General Amnesty made it’s appearance.

At this alarming crisis of his fortunes, his friends are said to have propagated a report of his death and made a mock-funeral for him, in order to divert and deceive the at’ention of his enemies: but Milton was a man so well known, the contrivance was so unsuitable to his

character, and the story is so totally destitute of competent evidence, that it must be rejected as wholly unworthy of credit.

The Act of Oblivion, says Mr. Philips, proved as favourable to him, as could have been hoped or expected: and for this he was indebted to the exertions of his friends both in the Council and the parliament, particularly of Andrew Marvel the representative of Hull, who subsequently prefixed a copy of spirited verses to his 'Paradise Lost.' But the chief promoter of his free pardon was Sir William Davenant, whose life Milton by his powerful interest had previously saved, when he was condemned as an active royalist in 1650.

Being now safe from his foes, he re-appeared in public, and removed to Jewin Street, where on the recommendation of his friend and relation Dr. Paget he married his third wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. Minshul of Cheshire: but by her he had no children. Soon after the Restoration, he was offered the place of Latin Secretary to the King, which however, notwithstanding the importunities of his wife, he had the virtue to refuse. His answer to her entreaties was, "You are in the right, my dear: you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man." Soon after this third marriage, he removed to a house in the Artillery Walk leading to Bunhill Fields, where he continued till his death, except for a short term during the prevalence of the plague in 1665, when he retired with his family to St. Giles Chalfont in Buckinghamshire. At this time his 'Paradise Lost' was finished, though not published till 1667.

Mr. Richardson says, "that when Milton dictated.

he used to sit leaning backward obliquely in an easy chair, with his legs flung over the elbows of it: that he frequently composed lying a-bed in a morning; and that when he could not sleep, but lay awake whole nights, he tried, but not one verse could he make: at other times flowed easy his unpremeditated verse, with a certain *impetus*, as himself used to believe; then, at what hour soever, he rung for his daughter to secure what came. I have been also told, he would dictate many (perhaps forty) lines in a breath, and then reduce them to half the number."

Mr. Philips, likewise, relates a remarkable circumstance respecting the composition of this sublime poem, communicated to him by Milton himself, 'that his poetical vein never flowed happily but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal, and that what he attempted at other times was not to his satisfaction.' After the work was ready for the press, it was near being suppressed by the ignorance or the malice of the licenser,* who among other trivial objections suspected treason in the noble simile, I. 594:

'As when the sun new-risen
Looks through the horizontal misty air,
Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon,
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs.'

This grand production of genius, which does honour to human nature, having at length surmounted these obstructions, was permitted to be printed; when the author sold it for only five

* Thomas Tomkyns, one of Archbishop Sheldon's chaplains.

pounds, on the condition* of receiving five pounds more after the sale of 1300 of the first impression; and five pounds after the sale of an equal number of the second and third editions respectively!

The first edition of 'Paradise Lost,' in ten books, was printed in a small quarto; and, before it could be sold, it had three or more different title-pages in the years 1667, 1668, and 1669. So that two years elapsed before it's author was entitled to the second five pounds, for which his receipt is still in existence, dated April 26, 1669. And this was, probably, the whole amount of what he received; for he lived not to enjoy the benefits of the second edition,† which was published in 1674, the year of his death. Milton, it appears, bequeathed the copy-right to his widow: for she agreed with Simmons, the printer, to accept eight pounds in full of all demands; and her receipt for the money is dated December 21, 1680.

Most of the writers of Milton's Life have relected upon the taste of the age, because this immortal production did not meet with the applause, which it merited on it's first publication. But to those who consider how small was the number of readers at that era, and how few of these could discern the beauties of a new species of poetry, this being the first English poem of any note not in

* The original contract with Samuel Simmons the printer, still extant, is dated April 27, 1667, and serves to correct some mistakes of writers respecting the sale and the earlier editions of the work.

† This second edition was printed in a small octavo, corrected by the author, and increased with the addition of some few verses (by dividing the seventh and tenth) to twelve books. The third edition was printed in 1678.

rhyme, the success will appear striking; especially when it is likewise remembered that its author, though he had escaped the talons of the law, was in perpetual danger of assassination from the inveteracy of royalist malignity. Under these circumstances, the sale of the first impression (the number of which must have exceeded 1300) within two years, is a strong proof that its merit was fully appreciated by every man of taste and learning, though their unqualified applause was withheld by the fear of giving offence to government.

Mr. Richardson informs us, that Sir John Denham came into the House of Commons one morning with a sheet of the 'Paradise Lost,' wet from the press, in his hand; affirming, that it was a 'part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language, or in any age.' No precise date is assigned by him to this incident; but, as Denham died in 1668, it must have happened while the first edition was in the press. It has been said, however, that the book was not known till about two years afterward, when the Earl of Dorset recommended it to more general notice. He opened it accidentally, it appears, while with Sir Fleetwood Shephard on the search for old books in Little Britain, and being struck with some of its passages made a purchase of it. The bookseller then desired his Lordship 'if he liked the work, to speak in its favour, as the copies of it lay on his hands as waste paper.' Having read the poem, the Earl transmitted it to Dryden, who quickly returned it, remarking; "This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too." This story was related by Sir Fleetwood Shephard to Dr. Tancered Robinson, an emi-

nent physician in London, by whom it was communicated to its publisher, Mr. Richardson.

The fourth edition, with ‘Paradise Regained’ and ‘Samson Agonistes’ annexed, was published in folio in 1688, under the patronage of John (afterward the celebrated Lord) Somers, who advised the bookseller to undertake it by subscription: and in the list of subscribers we find the names most distinguished, at that time, by their civil and literary eminence. The fifth edition made its appearance in 1692, and the sixth in 1695; and henceforward the sale largely increased every year,* though the price was four times greater than before. Foreign nations have, likewise, been sensible of the merit of this performance. It was translated into blank verse in Low Dutch, in 1728; into French prose, in 1729; and into Italian verse, in 1736. There are also three Latin versions: one by Mr. Hogg, a Scotchman, in 1690; a second by Dr. Trapp, and a third by Mr. Dobson, Fellow of New College, Oxford: the two latter undertaken in consequence of a prize of 1000*l.* offered by Mr. Benson, Auditor of the Imprest, for the best Latin translation, which was adjudged to Mr. Dobson. Thus was justice, at length, done to the merits of this illustrious bard. Milton, says Dr. Newton, is now considered as an English classic, and the ‘Paradise Lost’ generally esteemed the noblest and most sublime of modern poems, and equal at least to the

* It has since gone through numberless editions, particularly one in 1727, by Elijah Fenton; and another, by Dr. Bentley, in 1732. But the most elegant was published in 1749, in two volumes quarto with notes and the Life of the Author, by Dr. Thomas Newton, afterward Bishop of Bristol.

best of the ancient ; the honour of this country, and the envy and admiration of all others !

Before we take our leave of ‘Paradise Lost,’ it may be proper to observe, that various criticisms have been published upon it, and different conjectures suggested by men of learning respecting the source from which Milton derived the first idea of his subject : but no opinion on this topic has been so certainly established, as to fix and satisfy the public mind. It is indeed most probable, that he had seen in Italy the ‘*Adamo*,’ a drama written by an indifferent poet of the name of Andreini, and that from this small spark his imagination caught the flame, which afterward blazed so brightly. This however is merely a conjecture, which may be received or rejected by the reader at his option ; and the question is of too little consequence, to be agitated with any warmth. In 1750, an impotent attempt to blast his fame was made by one Lauder a Scotchman ; who in an Essay entitled, ‘Milton’s Use and Imitation of the Moderns,’ charges the author of the ‘Paradise Lost’ not only with the stealing of his plan from the ‘*Adamus Exul*,’ a juvenile production of Grotius, but also with having culled the flowers of other modern Latin poems of less celebrity with so unsparing a hand, as almost wholly to form with them the wreath which had constituted the ornament of his own brows. This charge, however, advanced with unparalleled impudence and supported with shameless forgery, was fully refuted by Dr. Douglas, who was subsequently raised to the mitre ; and Lauder who had received but too much countenance and assistance from the protection and the pen of Dr.

Johnson, was consigned to public and universal contempt.

But the extraordinary merit of this All-but-divine work must not render us inattentive to the other labours of it's author. In 1670, he published in quarto his 'History of Britain, that part especially now called England, from the first traditional beginnings to the Norman Conquest, collected out of the ancientest and best authors thereof.'* This history Toland, in *His Life of Milton*, observes we have not as it came out of his hands; for the licensers, those sworn enemies to learning, liberty, and good sense, expunged several passages† of it, which though intended only to expose the superstition and arrogance of the Popish monks in the Saxon times, they sagaciously applied to the Bishops under Charles II.

In 1671, he published in octavo his 'Paradise Regained,' a poem in four books, to which was added, 'Samson Agonistes.' The former of these poems Milton is said to have preferred to 'Paradise Lost:' but surely the Messiah in the 'Paradise Regained' with all his meekness, his dignity, and his reasoning makes a less splendid figure than when, in the earlier epic, he is introduced clothed with the terrors of Almighty vengeance, wielding the thunder of heaven, and riding along the sky in

* This is reprinted in the first volume of Dr. Kennet's 'Complete History of England.'

† In 1681, one of these suppressed passages was published in quarto, under the title of 'Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines in 1651, omitted in his other Works, and never before printed.'

his chariot of power; hurling the apostate spirits
headlong into the gulf

‘ Of bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamantinc chains and penal fire,
Who durst defy th’ Omnipotent to arms.’

The ‘ *Paradise Regained*,’ observes Dr. Newton, is very worthy of the author; and, contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in it, as well as in ‘ *Paradise Lost*.’ If it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is inferior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it does not sometimes rise so high, neither does it ever sink so low; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon: but he has raised as noble a superstructure, as such little room and such scanty materials would allow. The great beauty of it is, the contrast between the two characters of the Tempter and our Saviour; the artful sophistry and specious insinuations of the one, refuted by the strong sense and manly eloquence of the other.”

The first thought of ‘ *Paradise Regained*’ was owing to Ellwood the Quaker, as he himself relates the circumstances in the ‘ *History of his own Life*.’ Milton had lent him the manuscript of ‘ *Paradise Lost*,’ at St. Giles Chalfont, and on his returning it, asked him ‘ how he liked it, and what he thought of it;’ “ which I modestly and freely told him (says Ellwood) and after some farther discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, ‘ Thou hast said much of

Paradise Lost, but what hast thou to say of Paradise Found?' He made no answer, but sat some time in a muse, then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Ellwood subsequently waited upon him in London, Milton showed him his 'Paradise Regained;' and in a pleasant tone said to him, "This is owing to you, for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of."

In the year 1672, his '*Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata*' made it's appearance in octavo. Upon the indulgence granted to Protestant Dissenters in 1673, he published in quarto a defence of universal toleration for sectaries of all denominations except Papists, in a discourse entitled, 'Of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and what best Means may be used against the Growth of Popery. He printed likewise, the same year, 'Poems, &c. on several occasions, both English and Latin, composed at several Times, with a small Tractate on Education, dedicated to Mr. Hartlib,' in octavo. In 1674, he published his '*Epistolæ Familiæres*' with some Latin Academical Exercises, in octavo; and, in quarto, 'A Declaration of the Poles concerning the Election of their King John III., translated from the Latin Copy.'

He was deemed also, as Wood informs us, the author of a piece called, 'The Grand Case of Conscience, concerning the Engagement stated and resolved; or, a strict Survey of the solemn League and Covenant, in Reference to the present Engagement:' though many are of opinion, that the stile and manner of writing do not in the least favour

the suspicion. He left several pieces in manuscript; among the rest, his 'Brief History of Muscovy, and of other less known Countries lying eastward of Russia, as far as Cathay,' printed in 1682, in octavo. His 'Latin State-Letters' were first printed in 1676, in duodecimo, and an English version of them was published in 1694. In 1698 his Historical, Poetical, and Miscellaneous Works were printed in three volumes folio in London, though Amsterdam is mentioned in the title-page, with the Life of the Author by Mr. Toland; and a very complete and elegant edition of his Prose-Works was published in two volumes folio, in 1738, by the Rev. Dr. Birch, Secretary to the Royal Society. In this edition the several pieces are disposed according to the order in which they were printed, with the addition of a Latin tract (omitted by Toland) concerning the Reasons of the War with Spain in 1655, and several pages in the history of Great Britain expunged by the licensers of the press, and not to be met with in any former impressions.*

After a life of indefatigable study, and of incessant exertion in the cause of religious and civil liberty, for which he contended to the very last, Milton died of the gout in his stomach, November 8, 1674. Under this disorder he had languished for several years, and was indeed so reduced by that and other infirmities, that his dissolution was scarcely perceived by those who were in the room. His remains were decently interred, near the body

* Of this the booksellers of London have recently published a correct copy in six volumes octavo, to which is prefixed a most spirited and elegant Life of the Author from the very classical and energetic pen of the Rev. Charles Symmons, D.D.

of his father, in the chancel of the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate: and at a later period (in 1737) a neat monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, at the expense of William Benson, Esq.

By his first wife he had four children, a son and three daughters. The daughters survived the father. Anne, the eldest, married a master-builder, and with her first infant died in child-bed; Mary lived single; Deborah left her father when young, and went over with a lady to Ireland. She returned to England during the Irish troubles under James II., married Mr. Abraham Clark a weaver in Spitalfields, and died in 1727, in the seventy sixth year of her age.

This lady Dr. John Ward, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College, saw at the house of one of her relations, not long before her death. "She informed me," he states, "that she and her sisters used to read to their father in eight languages, which by practice they were capable of doing with great readiness and accuracy, though they understood no language but English; and their father used often to say, in their hearing, 'one tongue was enough for a woman.'

"None of them (he adds) were ever sent to school, but were all taught English at home by a mistress kept for that purpose: and Milton himself taught them to pronounce Greek and Latin. Homer and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were books, which they were often called to read to their father; and, at my desire, she repeated a great number of verses from the beginning of both these poets with great readiness. I knew who she was, upon the first sight

of her, by the similitude of her countenance with her father's picture; and upon my telling her so, she informed me, that 'Mr. Addison told her the same thing, on her going to wait on him:' for he, on hearing she was living, sent for her, and desired 'if she had any papers of her father's, she would bring them with her, as an evidence of her being Milton's daughter;' but immediately on her being introduced to him, he said, "Madam, you need no other voucher; your face is a sufficient testimony, whose daughter you are:" and he then made her a handsome present of a purse of guineas, with a promise of procuring her an annual provision for life: but he dying soon afterward, she lost the benefit of his generous design. She appeared to be a woman of good sense and genteel behaviour, and to bear the inconveniences of a low fortune with decency and prudence." Her late Majesty, Queen Caroline, sent her fifty pounds, and she received presents of money from several gentlemen not long before her death.

She had ten children, seven sons and three daughters: but of them only two left issue; Caleb, who went over to Fort St. George in the East Indies, where he married and had two sons, Abraham and Isaac;* and Elizabeth, her youngest daughter, who married Mr. Thomas Foster a weaver, and for some years before her husband's death kept a little chandler's shop at the lower end of Holloway, and afterward in Cock Lane, Shoreditch; where she was

* Of those Abraham, the elder, came to England with Governor Harrison, but returned again on the intelligence of his father's death. Whether any of his family are now living, is uncertain.

found by Dr. Birch, and subsequently visited by Dr. Newton. In 1750, the Masque of 'Comus' was performed for her benefit at Drury Lane, and produced her a considerable sum. A pathetic prologue was written on the occasion by Dr. Johnson, and spoken by Mr. Garrick. Her children, three sons and four daughters, all died before her.

Milton had a brother Christopher, who was knighted and made one of the Barons of the Exchequer in the reign of James II.; but he does not appear to have been a man of any abilities. Of this gentleman there was lately alive a grand-daughter, married to Mr. George Lookup, Advocate in Edinburgh. "This lady," says Theophilus Cibber, "whom I have often seen, is extremely corpulent, has in her youth been very handsome, and is not destitute of poetical genius. She has written several copies of verses, published in the Edinburgh Magazines; and her face bears some resemblance to the picture of Milton."

Of Milton's person Fenton has given us the following description:

"He was of a moderate size, well-proportioned, and of a ruddy complexion, light-brown hair, and had handsome features; yet his eyes were none of the quickest. When he was a student at Cambridge, he was so fair and clear, that many called him 'The Lady of Christ's College.' His deportment was affable, and his gait erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness. While he had his sight, he wore a sword, and was well-skilled in using it. He had a delicate tunable voice, an excellent ear, could play on the organ, and bear a part in vocal and instrumental music."

His character as a poet is given in the following lines, written by Dryden under his picture :

‘ Three poets, in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn.
The first in loftiness of thought surpast;
The next, in majesty; in both, the last.
The force of Nature could no farther go:
To make a third, she join’d the former two.’

In his politics, he was a thorough republican; having probably imbibed his principles from the Greek or Roman writers, with whose productions he was so intimately and perpetually conversant. When his friend Sir Robert Howard asked him, ‘ How he came to side with the Republicans?’ he replied, among other things, ‘ because theirs was the most frugal government; for the trappings of a Monarchy might set up an ordinary Commonwealth.’

This is not the only instance, evincing that he was as free in his conversation as in his writings. The Duke of York, afterward James II., one day called upon him out of mere curiosity. In the course of their conversation, being asked by his illustrious visitor, ‘ Whether he did not think the loss of his sight was a judgement upon him for what he had written against the late King?’ he readily replied; “ If your Highness thinks that the calamities which befall us here are indications of the wrath of heaven, in what manner are we to account for your father’s fate? The displeasure of heaven must, upon this supposition, have been much greater against him, than against me: for I have only lost my eyes, whereas he lost his head.” By this answer the

Duke was exceedingly offended, and went away very angry.

In religion, he was a dissenter from the Church of England. In the latter part of his life, however, he was not a professed member of any particular sect of Christians: he frequented no public worship, and is even said, but without authority, not to have used any religious rites in his family.

His circumstances were never either very mean, or very affluent: he lived above want, and was content with competency. During his travels, he was supported by his father. When he was appointed Latin Secretary, his salary amounted to two hundred pounds *per ann.*; and, though he was of the victorious party, he was far from sharing with them in the spoils. On the contrary, as we learn from his 'Second Defence,' he sustained great losses during the civil war, and instead of being favoured (as had been represented) in the imposition of taxes, sometimes paid even beyond his due proportion; and upon the turn of affairs was not only deprived of his place, but also lost two thousand pounds, which he had put for security into the Excise Office.

He died, says Dr. Newton, by one means or other worth one thousand five hundred pounds,* beside his household-goods, which was no incompetent subsistence for him, who was as great a philosopher as a poet.

Milton seems not to have been very happy in his marriages. His first wife offended him by her elope-

* Some time before he died, he sold the greatest part of his library, as his heirs were not qualified to make a proper use of it, and as he thought he could dispose of it himself to the greatest advantage.

ment: the second, whose love, sweetness, and delicacy he celebrates, lived not a twelvemonth with him: and his third, by whom he had no issue, was said to be a woman of a most violent spirit, and a severe stepmother to his children.* She died, says Dr. Newton, very old, at Nantwich in Cheshire; and, from the accounts of those who had seen her, I have learned that she confirmed several things related before: and, particularly, that her husband used to compose his poetry chiefly in the winter; and, on his waking on a morning, would make her write down twenty or thirty verses. Being asked, ‘Whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil?’ she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from these authors; and answered, with eagerness, that ‘he stole from nobody but the Muse that inspired him:’ and being asked by a lady present, ‘Who the Muse was?’ she answered, ‘It was God’s grace, and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly.’ She was likewise asked, ‘Whom he approved most of our English poets?’ and answered, ‘Spenser, Shakspeare, and Cowley:’ and being asked, ‘What he thought of Dryden?’ she said, ‘Dryden used sometimes to visit him; but he thought him no poet, but a good rhymist.’ This censure, however, was uttered before Dryden had acquired much reputation, or had composed his most valuable works. She likewise used to say, that ‘her husband was applied to by message from the King, and invited to write for the court;’ but his answer was, that ‘such a behaviour would be very inconsistent with his former

* Of this information, however, there is much reason to doubt.

conduct, for he had never yet employed his pen against his conscience.'

It would be injustice to this illustrious poet, to omit any part of his character. We must therefore add, that he was as eminent for his erudition, as for his extraordinary natural genius. He was a master not only of the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac languages; but also of the principal modern tongues, especially the Italian, which he wrote with so much elegance, that many members of the Academy Della Crusca, established at Florence for the refining and perfecting of that language, bestowed upon his stile high commendation.

In fine, he was an honest and a good, as well as a great man: in his private life an example of sobriety, temperance, patience, and frugality; and, in his public capacity, a model of persevering attention to the dictates of conscience, from which he could not be induced to swerve either by the dread of punishment, or by the temptation of reward.

The writer of the 'Biographical Prefaces to the Works of the English Poets,' has done gross injustice to his personal character; but he has spoken in the strongest terms of his 'Paradise Lost,' and of his genius as an author. Of this magnificent effort of imagination, even Johnson pronounces, that it "is a poem which, considered with respect to design, may claim the first place, and with respect to performance the second, among the productions of the human mind."—"The subject of an epic poem is, naturally, an event of great importance. That of Milton is not the destruction of a city, the conduct of a colony, or the foundation of an empire. His subject is the fate of worlds, the revolutions of

heaven and of earth; rebellion against the Supreme King, raised by the highest order of created beings; the overthrow of their host, and the punishment of their crimes; the creation of a new race of reasonable creatures; their original happiness and innocence, their forfeiture of immortality, and their restoration to hope and peace.

“Great events can be hastened, or retarded, only by persons of elevated dignity. Before the greatness displayed in Milton’s poem, all other greatness shrinks away. The weakest of his agents are the highest and noblest of human beings, the original parents of mankind; with whose actions the elements consented, and on whose rectitude or deviation of will depended the fate of terrestrial nature, and the condition of all the future inhabitants of the globe.

“Of the other agents in the poem, the chief are such, as it is irreverence to name on slight occasions. The rest were lower powers,

— ‘Of which the least could wield
Those elements, and arm him with the force
Of all their regions;’

powers, which only the control of Omnipotence restrain from laying creation waste, and filling the vast expanse of space with ruin and confusion. To display the motives and actions of beings thus superior, so far as human reason can examine them, or human imagination represent them, is the task which this mighty poet has undertaken and performed.”

—“The thoughts, which are occasionally called forth in the progress [of this poem], are such as could only be produced by an imagination in the highest degree fervid and active, to which materials were sup-

plied by incessant study and unlimited curiosity. The heat of Milton's mind might be said to sublimate his learning, to throw off into his work the spirit of science unmingled with it's grosser parts.

“He had considered creation in it's whole extent; and his descriptions are, therefore, learned. He had accustomed his imagination to unrestrained indulgence; and his conceptions, therefore, were extensive. The characteristic quality of his poem is, Sublimity. He sometimes descends to the elegant; but his element is the great. He can occasionally invest himself with grace; but his natural port is gigantic loftiness. He can please, when pleasure is required; but it is his peculiar power, to astonish.

“He seems to have been well acquainted with his own*genius, and to know what it was, that Nature had bestowed upon him more bountifully than upon others; the power of displaying the vast, illuminating the splendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful: he therefore chose a subject, on which too much could not be said, on which he might tire his fancy without the censure of extravagance.”

—“The highest praise of genius is, original invention. Milton cannot be said to have contrived the structure of an epic poem, and must therefore yield to that vigour and amplitude of mind to which all generations must be indebted for the art of poetical narration, for the texture of the fable, the variation of incidents, the interposition of dialogue, and all the stratagems that surprise and enchain attention. But, of all the borrowers from Homer, Milton is perhaps the least indebted. He was naturally a thinker for himself, confident of his own abilities,

and disdainful of help or hindrance: he did not refuse admission to the thoughts or images of his predecessors, but he did not seek them. From his contemporaries he neither courted, nor received, support: there is in his writings nothing, by which the pride of other authors might be gratified, or favour gained; no exchange of praises, nor solicitation of support. His great works were performed under discountenance, and in blindness; but difficulties vanished at his touch: he was born for whatever is arduous; and his work is not the greatest of heroic poems, only because it is not the first."

EXTRACT

From '*the Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelacy.*'

'To him (viz. the elegant and learned reader) it will be no new thing, though I tell him that, if I hunted after praise by the ostentation of wit and learning, I should not write thus out of mine own season, when I have neither yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies (although I complain not of any insufficiency to the matter in hand) or were I ready to my wishes, it were ~~a~~ folly to commit any thing elaborately composed to the careless and interrupted listening of these tumultuous times. Next, if I were wise only to my own ends, I would certainly take such a subject, as of itself might catch applause; when as this hath all the dis-

advantages on the contrary, and such a subject as the publishing whereof might be delayed at pleasure, and time enough to pencil it over with all the curious touches of art, even to the perfection of a faultless picture: when as in this argument, the not deferring is of great moment to the good speeding, that if solidity have leisure to do her office, art cannot have much. Lastly, I should not choose this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use (as I may account it) but of my left hand; and I shall be foolish in saying more to this purpose: yet since it will be such a folly as wisest men go about to commit, have only confessed and so committed, I may trust with more reason, because with more folly, to have courteous pardon. For although a poet, soaring in the high region of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him, might without apology speak more of himself than I mean to do; yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing among many readers, of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of myself, I shall petition to the gentler sort it may not be envy to me. I must say, therefore, that after I had from my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father whom God recompense, been exercised to the tongues and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers, both at home and at the schools, it was found that whether aught was imposed me by them that had the overlooking, or betaken to of my own choice in English or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly the latter, the stile by certain vital signs it had was likely to

live. But much latelier in the private Academies of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory composed at under twenty or thereabout (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was looked for; and other things which I had shifted, in scarcity of books and conveniences, to patch up among them were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps: I began thus far to assent both to them, and divers of my friends here at home; and not less to an inward prompting, which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined to the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after-times, as they should not willingly let it die. These thoughts at once possessed me, and these other; that if I were certain to write as men lay leases, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had than to God's glory, by the honour and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latins, I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue: not to make verbal curiosities the end—that were a toilsome vanity—but to be an interpreter, and relater of the best and safest things among mine own citizens, throughout this island, in the mother-dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their

country, I in my proportion (with this, over and above, of being a Christian) might do for mine: not caring to be once named abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that; but content with these British islands as my world, whose fortune hath hitherto been, that if the Athenians (as some say) made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, England hath had her noble achievements made small by the unskilful handling of monks and mechanics.

‘ Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse, to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempting. Whether that epic form, whereof the two poems of Homer and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a diffuse, and the Book of Job a brief model; or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art and use judgement is no transgression but an enriching of art; and, lastly, what King or Knight before the Conquest might be chosen, in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero. And as Tasso gave to a Prince of Italy his choice, whether he would command him to write of Godfrey’s Expedition against the Infidels, or Belisarius’ against the Goths, or Charlemagne’s against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our own ancient stories. Or whether those dramatic constitutions,

wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation. The Scripture also affords us a fine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons, and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges; and the Apocalypse of St. John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies. And this my opinion the grave authority of Pareus, commenting that book, is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead, to imitate those magnificent odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter *most and end* faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the Law and Prophets, beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable. These abilities, where-soever they be found, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation: and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility; to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affection in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his Church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true

worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave; whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtilties and reflexes of man's thoughts from within—all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out, and describe: teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, through all the instances of example, with such delight to those, especially of soft and delicious temper, who will not so much as look upon Truth herself unless they see her elegantly dressed; that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they would then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit would this be to our youth and gentry, may be soon guessed by what we know of the corruption and bane, which they suck in daily from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant poetasters; who having scarce ever heard of that which is the main consistence of a true poem, the choice of such persons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to each one, do for the most part lay up vicious principles in sweet pills to be swallowed down, and make the taste of virtuous documents harsh and sour. But, because the spirit of man cannot demean itself lively in this body without some repeating intermission of labour and serious things, it were happy for the Commonwealth if our magistrates, as in those famous governments of old, would take into their care not only the deciding of our contentious law-cases and brawls, but the managing of our public sports and festival pastimes; that they might be, not such as were authorised

awhile since,* the provocations of drunkenness and lust, but such as may inure and harden our bodies by martial exercises to all warlike skill and performances; and may civilise, adorn, and make discreet our minds, by the learned and affable meeting of frequent Academies, and the procurement of wise and artful recitations sweetened with eloquent and graceful enticements to the love and practice of justice, temperance, and fortitude: instructing and bettering the nation at all opportunities, that the call of wisdom and virtue may be heard every where, as Solomon saith; "She crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets, in the top of high places, in the chief concourse, and in the openings of the gates." Whether this may be not only in pulpits, but after another persuasive method at set and solemn paneguries, in theatres, porches, or what other place or way may win most upon the people to receive at once both recreation and instruction, let them in authority consult. The thing which I had to say, and those intentions which have lived within me ever since I could conceive myself any thing worth to my country, I return to crave excuse, that urgent reason hath plucked from me by an abortive and fore-dated discovery. And the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above man's to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavoured, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall—that I dare almost aver of myself, as far as life and free leisure will extend; and that the land at once enfranchised herself from this impertinent yoke of pre-

* Alluding to the tolerance of Sunday-sports after Divine Service, first introduced by James I. (to the great annoyance of the English Puritans) in 1617, and revived by his unfortunate successor in 1633.

lacy, under whose inquisitorious and tyrannical dun-cery no free and splendid wit can flourish. Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted; as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist or the trencher-fury of a rhyming parasite, nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her Siren daughters; but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases. To this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly arts and affairs; till which in some measure be compassed at mine own peril and cost, I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have disclosed thus much beforehand, but that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes—from beholding the bright countenance of Truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies, to come into the dim reflexion of hollow antiquities sold by the seeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men, whose learning and belief lies in marginal stuffings, &c. &c.

*On Chastity, early Studies, and unsophisticated
Delicacy of Mind.*

—‘ WITH me it fares now, as with him, whose outward garment hath been injured, and ill-bedighted: for having no other shift, what help but to turn the inside outward, especially if the lining be the same, or, as it is sometimes, much better. So, if my name and outward demeanor be not evident enough to defend me, I must make trial if the discovery of my inmost thoughts can: wherein of two purposes, both honest and both sincere, the one perhaps I shall not miss; although I fail to gain belief with others, of being such as my perpetual thoughts shall here disclose me, I may yet not fail of success in persuading some to be such really themselves, as they cannot believe me to be more than what I feign. I had my time, readers, as others have who have good learning bestowed upon them, to be sent to those places, where the opinion was it might be soonest attained: and, as the manner is, was not unstudied in those authors which are most commended; whereof some were grave orators and historians, whose matter methought I loved indeed, but as my age then was, so I understood them. Others were the smooth elegiac poets, whereof the schools are not scarce, whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous writing, which in imitation I found most easy and most agreeable to nature’s part in me, and for their matter, which what it is there be few who know not, I was so allured to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome: for that it was then those years with me which are excused, though they

be least severe, I may be saved the labour to remember you. Whence having observed them to count it the chief glory of their wit, in that they were ablest to judge, to praise, and by that could esteem themselves worthiest to love those high perfections, which under one or other name they took to celebrate, I thought with myself by every instinct and presage of nature, which is not wont to be false, that what emboldened them to this task might with such diligence as they used embolden me; and that what judgement, wit, or elegance was my share would herein best appear and best value itself, by how much more wisely and with more love of virtue I should choose (let rude ears be absent) the object of not unlike praises: for albeit these thoughts to some will seem virtuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third sort perhaps idle, yet the mentioning of them now will end in serious. Nor blame it, readers, in those years to propose to themselves such a reward, as the noblest dispositions above other things in this life have sometimes preferred: whereof not to be sensible, when good and fair in one person meet, argues both a gross and shallow judgement, and withal an ungente and swinish breast. For by the firm settling of these persuasions, I became to my best memory so much a proficient, that if I found those authors any where speaking unworthy things of themselves, or unchaste of those names which before they had extolled: this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their art I still applauded, but the men I deplored; and above them all preferred the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura (Petrarca, and Dante) who never write but honour of them, to whom they

devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts without transgression. And long it was not after, when I was confirmed in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men, or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy. These reasonings, together with a certain niceness of nature, and honest haughtiness, and self-esteem even then of what I was or what I might be (which let envy call pride) and lastly that modesty whereof, though not in the title-page, yet here I may be excused to make some becoming professions: all these uniting the supply of their natural aid together kept me still above those low descents of mind, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree to saleable and unlawful prostitutions. Next (for hear me out now, readers) that I may tell you whither my younger feet wandered; I betook me among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious Kings, and from hence had in renown over all Christendom. There I read it in the oath of every Knight, that ‘he should defend to the expense of his best blood, or of his life, if it so befel him, the honour and chastity of virgin or matron:’ from whence even then I learnt what a noble virtue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies, by such a dear adventure of themselves, had sworn.’

ELEGIA SEXTA.

AD CAROLUM DEODATUM RURI COMMORANTEM,

Qui cum Idibus Decemb. scripsisset, et sua carmina excusari postulasset si scilicet minus essent bona, quod inter lautitias quibus erat ab amicis exceptus, haud satis felicem operam Musis dare se posse affirmabat, hoc habuit responsum.

MITTO tibi sanam non pleno ventre salutem,
 Qua tu distento, fortè carere potes.
 At tua quid nostram prolecat Musa camœnam,
 Nec sinit optatas posse sequi tenebras?
 Carmine scire velis quàm te redememque colamque,
 Crede mihi vix hoc carmine scire queas.
 Nam neque noster amor modulari includitur arctis,
 Nec venit ad clauulos integer ipse pedes.
 Quàm bene solennes epulas, hilaremque Decembrin,
 Festaque caelífugam quæ coluere Deum,
 Deliciasque refers, hybernæ gaudia ruris,
 Haustaque per lapidos Gallica musta focos!
 Quid quereris refugam vino dapibusque pocin?
 Carmen amat Bacchum, carmina Bacchus amat.
 Nec puduit Phœbum virides gestasse corymbos,
 Atque hederam lauro præposuisse suæ.
 Sæpius Aoniis clamavit collibus, Eue!
 Mista Thyoneo turba noxena choro.
 Naso Corallæis mala carmina misit ab agris:
 Non illic epulæ, non sata vitis erat.
 Quid nisi vina, rosasque, racemiferumque Lyceum,
 Cantavit brevibus Tèia Musa modis?
 Pindaricosque inflat numeros Teumesius Euan,
 Et redolet sumptum pagina quæque merum;
 Dum gravis exerso currus crepat axe supinus,
 Et volat Elen pulvere fuscus eques.
 Quadrimoque madens Lyricen Romanus Iaccho
 Dulce canit Glyceræ, flavicomamque Chloen.
 Jam quoque laeta tibi generoso mensa paratu
 Mentis alit vires, ingeniumque fovet.
 Massica facundam despumant pocula venam,
 Fundis et ex ipso condita metra cado.

Addimus his artes, fusumque per intima Phœbum
Corda : favent uni Bacchus, Apollo, Ceres.
Scilicet haud mirum, tam dulcia carmina per te,
Numine composito, tres peperisse Deos.
Nunc quoque Thressa tibi cœlato barbitos auro
Insonat, argutâ molliter icta manu ;
Auditurque chelys suspensa tapetia circum,
Virgineos tremulâ quæ regat arte pedes.
Illæ tuas saltem teneant spectacula Musas,
Et revocent, quantum crapula pellit incers.
Crede mihi, dum psallit ebur, comitataque plectrum
Implet odoratos, festa chorea tholos,
Percipies tacitum per pectora serpere Phœbum,
Quale repentinus permeat ossa calor,
Perque puellares oculos, digitumque sonantem,
Irruct in totos lapsa Thalia sinus.
Namque Elegia levis multorum cura Deorum est,
Et vocat ad numeros quemlibet illa suos ;
Liber adest elegis, Eratoque, Ceresque, Venusque,
Et cum purpureâ matre tenellus Amor.
Talibus inde licent convivio larga poetis,
Sæpius et veteri commaduisse mero.
At qui bella refert, et adulto sub Jove cœlum,
Heroesque pios, semideosque duces,
Et nunc sanctæ canit superum consulta deorum,
Nunc latrata fero regna profunda cane,
Ille quidem parcet, Samii pro more magistri,
Vivat, et innocuus præbeat herba cibos ;
Stet prope, sagineo pellucida lymphæ catillo,
Sobriaque è puro pocula fonte bibat.
Additur huic scelerisque vacans, et castra juvenis,
Et rigidi mores, et sine labe manus.
Qualis, veste nitens sacrâ, et lustralibus undis,
Surgis ad infensos, augur, iture Deos.
Hoc ritu vixisse ferunt post raptâ sagacem
Lumina Tiresian, Ogygiumque Linon,
Et larc devoto profugum Calchanta, senemque
Orpheon, edomitæ sola per antra feris ;
Sic dapis exiguus, sic rivi potor Homerus
Dulichium vexit per freta longa virum,
F' per monstrosificam Perseic Phœbados aulam,
Et cada fœmineis insidiosa sonis,

Perque tuas, rex ime, domos, ubi sanguine nigro
Dicitur umbrarum detinuisse greges.
Dis etenim sacer est vates, divûmque sacerdos,
Spirat et occultum pectus et ora Jovem.
At tu si quid agam scitabere (si modò saltem
Esse putas tanti noscere si quid agam)
Paciferum canimus cœlesti semine regem,
Faustaque sacratis sæcula pacta libris,
Vagitumque Dei, et stabulantem paupere tecto
Qui suprema suo cum patre regna colit,
Stelliparumque polum, modulantesque æthere turmas,
Et subito elisos ad sua fana Deos.
Donâ quidem dedimus Christi natalibus illa,
Illâ sub auroram lux mihi prima tulit.
Te quoque pressa manent patriis meditata cicutis,
Tu mihi, cui recitem, judicis instar eris.

IMITATED.

LIGHT, and unfever'd with excess, I send
 Health, haply wanted, to my feasting friend.
 But why with song provoke my lingering lay,
 And drag th' unwilling scribbler into day!
 Would'st thou from verse my ardent friendship know?
 'Tis not for verse a flame so pure to show:
 Ah! not to scanted strains, and halting song,
 The powers to grasp my perfect love belong.
 The Christmas glee, December's mirthful board,
 And fabled Saturn's revelry restored,
 The circling glass, the winter's joyous blaze—
 How passing well thy jovial muse displays!
 Then why of wine's enfeebling cup complain?
 Beloved of verse, young Bacchus loves the strain:
 Placed in fond preference o'er his laurel bough,
 Oft has the ivy clasp'd Apollo's brow;
 And oft Aënia's hills have heard the Nine
 With frantic shouts the maddening orgies join.
 Weak was the lay from Tomi's vineless coast,
 When Naso wept his feasts and friendships lost:
 The flowing bowl, with many a rose o'erhung,
 In fancy's sprightliest lay Anacreon sung:

The Theban god inspires his Pindar's line,
 And each bright hymn is redolent of wine;
 Whether o'er-whelm'd the groaning axle lie,
 Or dark with Eliac dust the courser fly.
 ' Hot with the Tuscan grape,' his bright-hair'd maid
 The Roman lyrist sung beneath the shade—
 Nay thou, whose thankless strain the boon disowns,
 Owest to the vine that strain's harmonious tones;
 Brisk as from casks, where Massic juices flow,
 And strong and pure, thy sparkling stanzas flow.
 Thine are the arts; in thee, with Delphi's God,
 Bacchus and Ceres fix their loved abode:
 Hence triply fed thy dulcet accents roll,
 Which melt and swell by turns the ravish'd soul.

And now, light sweeping o'er the golden wire,
 The thrilling touch awakes th' Orphœan lyre:
 Now round the dome the tabret's echoes play,
 Which teach the virgin's foot it's mazy way.
 These gorgeous shows the Muse may well detain,
 When wine's strong fumes would chase her from the brain.
 Trust me, when Music strikes her festive string,
 And Dance accordant weaves the frolic ring;
 Stealthy and soft, as warmth's pervading glow,
 Through all thy veins th' inspiring God will flow:
 And from the finger snapt, and beaming eye,
 Thalia's self infuse the tuneful sigh.
 For many a God o'er elegy presides,
 It's spirit kindles, and it's numbers guides;
 There Bacchus, Ceres, Erato are seen,
 And with her beauteous boy th' Italian Queen:
 And thence the chiefs of elegiac song
 Drain the full bowl, and join the jocund throng.

But He, whose verse records the battle's roar,
 And heroes' feats, and demi-gods of yore;
 Th' Olympic senate with their bearded king,
 Or howl that loud through Pluto's dungeons ring—
 With simpler stores must spread his Samian board,
 And browse well-pleased the vegetable hoard:
 Close at his side the beechen cup be placed,
 His thirst by nature's limpid beverage chased;
 And still to vice unknown, unchanged by art,
 His be the guiltless hand, the guileless heart—

Pure, as with lustral stream and snowy vest
 The priests of Jove his lifted bolt arrest.
 'Twas thus the sightless seer, Tiresias, fared;
 And Linus thus his frugal meal prepared:
 Such the repasts prophetic Calchas knew,
 And he whose lyre the listening tigers drew:
 On foods like these immortal Homer fed,
 Whose muse from Troy the ten years' wanderer led;
 Safely through Circe's wizard halls convey'd,
 Safely through seas where wily Sirens play'd,
 And safe through death's dark wastes and dreariest hell,
 While thronging phantoms linger'd at his spell.
 For shielding Gods the bard, their priest, surround;
 Jove swells his heart, his accents Jove resound.

But Thou, should interest kind or curious bend
 Anxious to ask, what toils employ thy friend:
 Know that *the Son of heaven's eternal King*,
 By *holy sages* sung, he dares to sing;
All meanly wrapt in the rude manger laid
The Infant-Godhead, and his mother-maid;
Harping in solemn quire the cherubs hymn'd,
 And new-born stars, and fanes with their *dumb idols* whelm'd.
 A solemn tribute on his natal day,
 Or ere the point of dawn, I framed the lay:
 And thee, my friend, awaits the English strain;
 Thy critic ear shall judge, nor I recite in vain.

F. W.

Jan. 23, 1616.

AD JOANNEM ROUSIUM OXONIENSIS ACADEMIÆ BIBLIOTHECARIUM.

De libro Poëmatum amisso, quem ille sibi denuò mitti postulabat, ut cum aliis nostris in Bibliothecâ publicâ reponeret, Ode.

STROPHE I.

GEMELLE cultu simplici gaudens Liber,
 Fronte licet geminâ,
 Munditięque nitens non operosâ;
 Quam manus attulit
 Juvenilis olim,
 Sedula tamen haud nimii poetę;

*Dum vagus Ausonias nunc per umbras,
Nunc Britannica per vireta lusit,
Insons populi, barbitoque devius
Indulsit patrio, mox itidem pectine Daunio
Longinquum intonuit melos
Vicinis, et humum vix tetigit pede:*

ANTISTROPHE.

*Quis te, parve Liber, quis te fratribus
Subduxit reliquis dolo?
Cum tu missus ab urbe,
Docto jugiter obsecrante amico,
Illustre tendebas iter
Thamesis ad incunabula
Cœrulei patris;
Fontes ubi limpidi
Aënidum, thyasusque sacer,
Orbi notus per immensos
Temporum lapsus redeunte cœlo,
Celeberque futurus in ævum?*

STROPHE II.

*Modò quis deus, aut editus deo,
Pristinam gentis miseratus indolem
(Si satis noxas luimus priores,
Mollique luxu degener otium)
Tollat nefandos civium tumultus,
Almaque revocet studia sanctus,
Et relegatas sine sede Musas
Jam pænè totis finibus Angligenûm;
Immundasque volucres,
Unguibus imminentes,
Figat Apollineâ pharetrâ,
Phineamque abigat pestem procul amne Pegasco?*

ANTISTROPHE.

*Quin tu, Libelle, nuntii licet malâ
Fide, vel oscitantid,
Semel erraveris agmine fratrum,
Seu quis te teneat specus,
Seu qua te latebra, forsân unde vili
Callo tereris institoris insulsi,*

*Lætare felix : en iterum tibi
 Spes nova fulget posse profundam
 Fugere Lethen, vehique superam
 In Jovis aulam, remige pennâ :*

STROPHE III.

*Nam te Roïsius sui
 Optat peculî, numeroque justo
 Sibi pollicitum queritur abesse,
 Rogatque venias ille, cujus inclÿta
 Sunt data virûm monumenta curæ :
 Teque adytis etiam sacris
 Voluit reponi, quibus et ipse præsidet
 Æternorum operum custos fidelis ;
 Quæstorque gazæ nobilioris,
 Quàm cui præfuit Iôn,
 Clarus Erechtheïdes,
 Opulenta dei per templa parentis,
 Fulvosque tripodas donaque Delphica,
 Iôn Actæâ genitus Creüsâ.*

ANTISTROPHE.

*Ergo, tu visere lucos
 Musarum ibis amœnos ;
 Diamque Phœbi rursus ibis in domum,
 Oxoniâ quam valle colit,
 Delo posthabitâ,
 Bifidoque Parnassi jugo :
 Ibis honestus,
 Postquam egregiam tu quoque sortem
 Nactus abis, dextri prece sollicitatus amici.
 Illic legêris inter alta nomina
 Auctorum, Græcæ simul et Latine
 Antiqua gentis lœmina, et verum decus.*

EPODOS.

*Vos tandem laud vacui mei labores,
 Quicquid hoc sterile fudit ingenium,
 Jam serò placidam sperare jubeo
 Perfunctam invidiâ requiem, sedesque beatus,
 Quas bonas Hermes
 Et tutela dabit solers Roïsi ;
 Quò neque lingua procax vulgi penetrabit, atque longè
 Turba legentûm prava facesset :*

*At ultimi nepotes,
Et cordatior ætas,
Judicia rebus æquiora forsitan
Adhibebit, integro sinu.
Tum, livore sepulto,
Si quid meremur sana posteritas sciet,
Rousio, favente.*



IMITATED.

STROPHE I.

WITH one informing mind,
Though looking with a twofold face,
Go, Book, and dress'd with simple grace,
Unlabour'd speak what once the youth design'd :
While 'midst Ausonia's classic shade
Reclined, or in some native glade,
Yet guiltless of his country's ire,
He struck or Rome's or Albion's lyre ;
Or roused the thunder of the Tuscan chord,
And spurning earth's low tracts through fields empyreal soar'd.

ANTISTROPHE I.

What robber's guileful hand,
When at the call of Friendship sent
To Thames' source thy steps were bent,
Filch'd thee, dwarf Volume, from thy brother-band :
To Thames' source, their limpid store
Where the Pierian sisters pour ;
And, while the tide of choral song
Flows her sweet shades and flowers among,
Blazon'd for many an age long-past by fame,
For many an age to come shall glitter Oxford's name.

STROPHE II.

Would but some heavenly power
In pity on our sorrows smile
(If sorrows yet have purged our isle,
And woe's atoning pang hath had it's hour) ;
Quell the fierce crowd's unhallow'd roar,
And back to their loved haunts restore
The banish'd Nine, who drooping roam
Without a comforter or home :
Wing his keen shaft against the noisome race,
And far from Delphi's stream the harpy-mischief chase !

ANTISTROPHE II.

But thou rejoice, dear Book;
 Though late purloin'd by pilfering hand,
 Or wandering from thy kindred band,
 Thou lurkest now in some inglorious nook:
 In some vile den thy honours torn,
 Or by coarse palm mechanic worn—
 Rejoice: for lo! new hopes arise,
 That thou again may'st view the skies;
 From Lethe's pool oblivious burst to day,
 And win on "sail-broad vans" to highest heaven thy way.

STROPHE III.

Thy strains to Rouse belong:
 Thou, his by promise, art deplored,
 As wanting to his perfect hoard,
 By Rouse, firm guardian of eternal song;
 Rouse, who a nobler treasure keeps
 Than that on Delphi's craggy steeps,
 In honour of Latona's child
 By Græcia's pious bounty piled
 (Where Attic Iôn watch'd the sacred door)
 Tripod, and votive vase, and all the holy store.

ANTISTROPHE III.

'Tis thine to hail the groves,
 Her vale's green charms where Oxford spreads;
 Thine her fair domes and velvet meads,
 Which more than his own Delos Phœbus loves,
 Than Pindus more: and thine, proud choice!
 (Since thou, by Friendship's partial voice,
 Art call'd to join th' immortal band)
 'Midst bards of giant fame to stand;
 Bards, of old Greece and Rome the light and pride,
 Whose names shall float for aye on time's o'erwhelming tide.

EPODE.

And ye, my other toils
 Not toil'd in vain, some distant day
 From envy's fang shall speed your way,
 Where Rouse protects and favouring Hermes smiles.
 There nor the rabble shall revile,
 Nor factious critics pour their bile:

JOHN MILTON

age,
 age;
 you. In able worth regard,
 the Patriot Bard.
 F.

*Giovane, e sempre
 Poi che
 Madonna,
 Faro divoto: io
 L'hebbi fedele, intr
 De pensieri leggiadri
 Quando rugge il gran
 S'arma di se e d'intero diamante
 Tanto del forse e d'invidia sicuro
 Di timori e speranze al popol use,
 Quanto d'ingegno e d'alto valor vago,
 E di cetra sonora e delle Muse:
 Sol troverete in tal parte men duro,
 Ove Amor mise l'insanabil ago.*

IMITATED.

Deign, Lady, from a guileless doting youth
 T' accept a heart, which fain it's Lord would fly;
 Of lofty spirit, and worth, and constancy
 Th' abode, and faith inflexible, and truth
 By many a test well-tried, and melting ruth:
 When the red flash flames deathful through the sky,
 The bolt that shivers and the storm that raves,
 Self-arm'd with native adamant, it braves.
 As much to brutal force, and envy's bane,
 And vulgar fears and vulgar hopes unknown;
 As with bright genius smit and Delphi's train,
 The sounding shell and valour's high renown:
 There only, Lady, throbs it's feeble part,
 Where Love's fierce power has plunged th' immedicable dart.

F. W.

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